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THE REFORMATION REFUGEES AS AN ECONOMIC FORCE

By
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PREFACE

This work has been undertaken in the hope that something of value could be found in the history of the trials and struggles of refugees in the past, something that would be helpful in the treatment of that somber problem in our own day. Thus it is intended to be more than a work of pure research, valuable though that aspect of historical investigation be. One might say the study is one of sociological as well as historical interest. It was originally a dissertation presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and is an abridgment and revision of that manuscript. I wish to express my thanks to the American Society of Church History for the award of the biennial Brewer Prize, which has made publication possible.

I am indebted especially to Dr. Roland H. Bainton for generous help and sustaining interest, and to my friends, Messrs. C. L. Smith and J. B. Breazeale. I appreciate the spirit of cooperation shown by the staffs of Yale's Sterling Memorial and Divinity School Libraries; and I shall not forget the more silent, but no less important, assistance of the army of workmen who made this book—the printers and type founders, the paper makers, the machinists and the artists—many of whom are descended from the refugee folk who walk through its pages.

The sower went forth to sow his seed; and as he sowed, some fell by the way side; and it was trodden under foot, and the birds of the heaven devoured it.

And other fell on the rock; and as soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture.

And other fell amidst the thorns; and the thorns grew with it, and choked it.

And other fell into the good ground, and grew, and brought forth fruit a hundredfold.

—LUKE 8:5-8

I sat upon the shores of endless seas,
Observing how the ordered ages moved
In perfect rank and serried companies
Upon a universal pattern grooved
To guide the deep celestial harmonies,
And wondered how those discords in the theme,
Those martyred men of God, the refugees,
Fit into all that vast, prodigious scheme . . .
And suddenly, as doth the watchman wake
From nodful dream when dawn dispels the night,
I learned of God's redeeming plan to shake
The chaff away, the righteous to requite:
Lo, exiles are the seed the Master sows,
And in their bounteous fruit His goodness grows.

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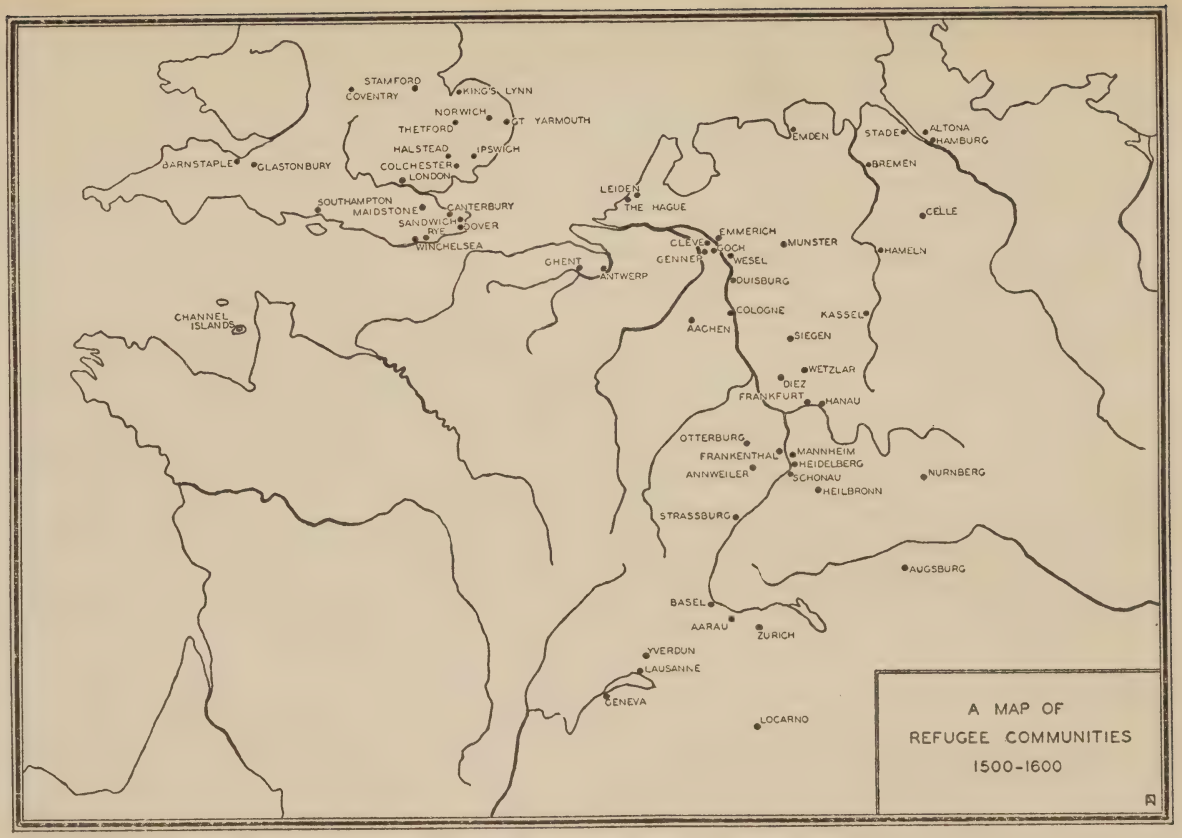
DHV*Gbl.*: Deutscher Hugenotten Verein, *Geschichtsblätter.*

HSL*Proc.*: Huguenot Society of London, *Proceedings.*

HSL*Pubs.*: Huguenot Society of London, *Publications.*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THE HAGUE
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ANTWERP
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SCHONAU
NURNBERG
HEILBRONN
STRASSBURG
AUGSBURG
BASEL
AARAU
ZURICH
VERDUN
LAUSANNE
GENEVA
LOCARNO
A MAP OF
REFUGEE COMMUNITIES
1500-1600

INTRODUCTION

The history of religious refugees contains a strange mixture: on the one hand persecution, jealousy, hate, and oppression; on the other hospitality, kindness, sympathy, and sacrifice. In the sixteenth century the formula seems to have included a generous dose of the first ingredients. Over differences in religion during those times men were quite ready to consign their adversaries to perdition, considering it far better that hundreds of people be utterly destroyed than that wild heretics—or, as the case might be, evil papists—should be allowed freedom to poison the minds and endanger the souls of children and simple, impressionable folk. The seriousness with which people took their religion during the sixteenth century is amply demonstrated by the story with which this book has to do, namely, the history of those thousands of folk who, on account of their beliefs and their faith, which happened to differ from that of those who held power, were driven from their homes and kinsfolk to seek a safe haven and a new home in strange and foreign lands, lands which might or might not be hospitable, and lands in which the future held for them nothing but uncertainty. The persecutions of the sixteenth century—religious persecutions, at least—were not the result of any innate cruelty in men, of any ingrained malevolence of one group of men toward another; but rather the expression of deepest conviction, accompanied by a certainty so absolute about the truth of one's own faith, or that of one's own church, that none other had a right to exist. This characteristic was common to both Catholics and Protestants. Those courageous folk who did not agree that men ought to be persecuted because their beliefs were different, the Anabaptists of the non-violent wing, were castigated and slaughtered by Protestants and Catholics alike.

It is not the purpose of this investigation to tell the story of the refugees, if only because of the vastness of the subject. The central theme, rather, is their economic life. Although much new and interesting material heretofore unused has been brought into this work, the main purpose and chief value lies in the presentation of the huge amount of scattered information and the results of detailed local research in a comprehensive comparative

study in which local trends, similarities, differences, and contrasts can be set in their proper places in the economic life and influence of the refugees in the whole of Europe. Since there exists no comprehensive history covering the general field, the first chapter is devoted to a brief panoramic survey of the whole movement, organized on the basis of geography and chronology. This provides a convenient framework for the topical analysis that forms the body of the book. England will be treated in considerable detail. Then, applying the "law of diminishing returns," the other countries will be studied by way of comparison and corroboration.

The scope of the investigation has been restricted to the Protestant groups of refugees, by themselves the largest in distribution and numbers. The consequent elimination of both Catholic and Anabaptist exiles does not reflect upon their importance, and either group offers rich material for study. Nevertheless, both are separated from the Protestant migrations, and hence there is no danger that the demarcation will hinder the proper development of the segment chosen. The Catholic refugees were largely seminary students, monks, and ecclesiastical personages, and did not partake of the characteristics of the typical Protestant refugees. During the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI there occurred a notable Catholic exodus to Ireland, Scotland, and the Continent, preeminently to Paris, Salamanca, Bologna, Padua, Louvain, etc. Under Elizabeth another emigration took place, mostly remnants of religious orders such as the Carthusians and Bridgettines, students and professors, priests, and some laymen. The support of these refugees came from home, from the Pope, and from Philip II.

> The remarkable thing is that, although the Belgian exile in England has left an impression on that country which can never be effaced, one would search in vain in the histories of Belgium for any indication of a like effect from the English Catholics.[1]

In the case of the left-wing groups, there was scarcely to be found in all Europe an Anabaptist who was not a refugee in one sense or another, and large colonies were established in such centers as Moravia and Poland. From all Europe, but especially from Switzerland, the Netherlands, South Germany, and Bo-

1 Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*, 1558-1795 (London, 1914), xx.

hemia, they flocked to the *"gelobtes Land,"* Moravia. For a hundred years they stayed there, although twice they had to flee to Silesia, Prussia, and Slovakia. During their golden age, from 1565 to 1592, they sometimes numbered from twelve to fifteen thousand persons. Toward the end of the century persecution drove most of these folk to Hungary and other havens. The movements of the Bohemian Brethren, many of whom were driven from their native land into exile, can only be mentioned.

The study of the Protestant refugees is especially rewarding, for in them one can find a "pure specimen" of that Calvinist faith that meant so much for the religious history of Europe and the world. One of the first steps in the historical study of the relation between religious forces and economic development was taken by Max Weber in his famous and stimulating essay on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, together with his other investigations in the field of comparative religions. The mass of controversial literature that has arisen upon the foundation of his work is by itself ample evidence of the value of his contribution. Other scholars have used a similar approach to other topics in the history of Christianity with noteworthy results. One such study is the admirable book by Wellman J. Warner on the Wesleyan movement in the Industrial Revolution. The present investigation in the economic life of the Protestant refugees during the Reformation period was undertaken with the hope of making a further contribution to this type of historical literature, a contribution in which a clearer picture could be drawn by use of the "pure specimen" of the Calvinist presented by the refugee movement of the times. Among the exiles there were few who did not take their religion seriously, for all of them had been willing to leave home and abandon everything for it. The significance of this description of the Protestant religious refugees as pure examples of ascetic Protestantism, freed from the chaff and the dross, will be made apparent in the following pages, especially in the final chapter.

Finally, the confusion that existed between aliens and refugees makes it possible to draw a parallel between exiles of the sixteenth and of the twentieth centuries. In every age refugees have suffered and have been the same, held together as brothers in a mutual bond of endurance of persecution. But the ties are much closer than this. In both centuries the exiles were con-

fronted with the problem of finding a haven in a country which was even then at war with the land from which they had fled. Thus the question arose, whether they were to be treated as refugees or as enemy aliens. The position of German refugees in England in 1939 and 1940 is the same as that of French refugees in England in 1563. In that case Edmund Grindal wrote to Sir William Cecil,

> . . . praying him, that among his weighty affairs . . . he would remember to give the Lord Mayor, and some other godly, honest persons, order for those poor, afflicted French, exiled for religion, that they might not be taken as prizes . . . by virtue of the late proclamation, wilfully wrong understood.[2]

But there are many other parallels. The fact that modern refugees, unable to bring with them the good reputation they had won in their homeland, must sometimes start all over again and work up from the bottom, is similar to the demand made repeatedly in England in the sixteenth century, under the Statute of Apprentices, 1563, that refugees serve a seven years' apprenticeship, regardless of the fact that they already had become masters on the Continent. It is unnecessary to go on, to mention the linguistic difficulties, the separation of families, perhaps the happy reunions, the ever-present conflict with elements in the native population that feared their worldly well-being was threatened by the arrival of refugees. Clearly, then, the subject of this investigation is but a well-defined segment of a long, long story, one that began when the first priest cried, "Thou must believe," and one that will end only when all men join in unanimous chorus, "Thou mayest believe."

2 John Strype, *Edmund Grindal* (Oxford), 110 f.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROTESTANT REFUGEE COMMUNITIES

Genf, Wesel und Rochelle,
Sind des Teufels zweite Höll.

Sixteenth century Catholic writer, quoted by F. Cuno.

Not to one land alone did the exiles owe their origin. Indeed, Europe seems to have been rather equally divided between those countries that persecuted and provided refugees and those that received and provided for them.[1] First in importance among the former were the Low Countries, where traditions of freedom and independence strove with fear of the Spanish overlords for ascendency. Unable to endure the combination of political domination, economic regulation, and religious persecution, thousands of inhabitants left their homes and journeyed first to England, later to Germany, and, after the revolt of the seventeen Provinces, to the growing cities of the United Netherlands. The Duchess of Parma wrote to Philip on September 8, 1567, that about 100,000 people had left the Netherlands on account of the arrival of the Duke of Alva. Attempts to forbid emigration failed utterly, and soon the remaining inhabitants of the city of Ghent walked through streets strangely silent, along which over half of the houses stood empty.[2] Calvinist-

1 There exists no comprehensive history of the religious refugee movement in the sixteenth century, and very few of the many monographic works make any attempt to provide a general panorama. Perhaps the most comprehensive account is that of A. A. van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe Eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland in hunne Beteekenis voor de Reformatie in de Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1909). But even this omits some regions entirely (e. g., Switzerland) and treats others from limited perspective. For England the best study is Fernand de Schickler, *Les églises du refuge en Angleterre* (Paris, 1892, 3 vols.), and for Switzerland, J. C. Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés de la Réforme en Suisse* (Paris, 1878, translated from the German by G. Roux). Mention should also be made of the various publications of the Huguenot Society of London and the Deutscher Hugenotten Verein. A very brief outline, which approaches the problem from the standpoint of the origin of the refugees, is provided by the article by Hans Scheichl, "Glaubensflüchtlinge im 16. Jahrhunderte," *Jahresberichte der öffentlichen Handelsakademie in Linz*, VIII (1889-90). Economic aspects of the movement in England are treated by William Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants to England* (London, 1897). There exists no similar study for the Continent, although Georg Witzel's article on the Frankfurt colonies (*q. v.* in Bibliography) surveys the literature and some of the conclusions.

2 Scheichl, "Glaubensflüchtlinge," 14.

minded folk enriched the economic and religious life of such English cities as London and Norwich, were eagerly received and settled with privileges by far-sighted rulers like Frederick III, Count Palatine, and brought new vigor and prosperity to the Northern Provinces.[3] The sound of the Netherlandish tongue was heard in half the Continent, and old records in the Flemish language enrich the archives of many cities and the records of numerous venerable old churches in England, Germany, Holland, and elsewhere. From many different corners of Europe came the streams of refugees, from France, from Italy, from Spain, from Switzerland, from the Rhineland, Bavaria, Austria. It is now in order to make a comprehensive survey of the various and numerous geographical localities in which they settled and undertook to build anew the life they had left behind and to worship God as they saw fit, even if that meant exile and banishment seven times or seventy times seven times.

1. England

When a map is made of the refugee communities that sprang up in the sixteenth century, the most interesting graphic result is the crescent-moon shaped area in which most of the groups were located. It begins in Barnstaple in Devon, widens out eastward to include Norfolk on the north and Sussex on the south, crosses the Channel to the Low Countries, extends up the Rhine through the Palatinate, ending in another point at Geneva. The only localities excluded from this area are the Irish and Scotch, the East Frisian, the Hamburg, the Prussian, and the Piedmont, only one or two of which were of first rate importance for sixteenth century refugees. For convenience' sake a beginning may be made with the English communities.

In England the exiles may be classified according to three main types: the Flemish or Dutch, the Walloon or French, and the minor groups such as the Italian and Spanish. Most of them belonged to the first type, came from the Netherlands, and spoke Dutch or Flemish. In many of the communities the French, too small to organize a church of their own, joined the larger Flemish congregation. This was true for Maidstone, King's

3 This last point, however, must not be exaggerated.

Lynn, Colchester[4], Stamford, Ipswich, and Dover.[5] On the other hand, at Canterbury and Southampton the Dutch joined the French church. The churches at Great Yarmouth, Thetford, and Halstead were altogether Netherlandish in membership. In the two largest centers, London and Norwich, there existed congregations of both "nations," and the same is true of Sandwich in its early history. Finally, the French church at Rye is notable for the fact that its members were Norman Frenchmen from Rouen and Dieppe.[6]

The first instances of refugees in England are not of groups but of individuals, whose influence on the whole movement was out of proportion to their numbers. They were of extremely varied origins; of sixteen principal individuals — by no means all, or even the most eminent—one was a Pole, two were Netherlanders, four Frenchmen, two Germans, five Italians, and two Spaniards. These were many of the outstanding individual refugees in England during the period of the Tudor rule. The wanderings and trials of each of these men constitute a story in itself, and the story of each is as full of interest historical, literary, theological, as that of any other religious leader of the sixteenth century. He who reads of them reads of those who have seen many lands, suffered many tribulations, known many friends, and performed great deeds for the Lord.

In England the refugees, both as individuals and in groups, found special comfort and assistance from other individuals, Englishmen, who held high positions in church and state. The welcome they gave them provides one of the more pleasant aspects of refugee history. Their friendliness and helpfulness, their relatively enlightened toleration in that so very intolerant century, made life possible for the thousands who came to their land seeking a haven from trouble.

The year 1550 is a significant date in the history of those folk who were then being harried over the face of Europe. It is a no less significant date for the history of England. For in that year there were established on the Isles the first refugee

4 Even here an early attempt to start a Walloon body failed.

5 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 279. Except for slight references we know very little of the communities of Stamford and Ipswich.

6 See below, 14-15, 88.

church communities, the precursors of that later, greater influx in the time of Elizabeth. There were then three of them: Canterbury,[7] London, and Glastonbury, places associated with the names of three leading spirits, Jan Utenhove, John à Lasco, and Valérand Poullain, respectively. Besides, in the same year occurred in London the division of the refugees into French (Walloon) and Dutch (Flemish) groups, each with its separate church, united only under the superintendency of à Lasco.

The London group commands attention first, since it was among the oldest of the bodies and was the core of the refugee organization in England, to the leadership of which all the communities in the "provinces" looked in deference. On the petition of the refugees then in the city, led by à Lasco, letters patent were granted them, on July 24, 1550, for the establishment of the Church of Austin Friars.[8] Utenhove wrote to Calvin overjoyed at the wide favors given them.[9] Soon there were too many refugees of both language groups for the comfortable use of Austin Friars. As a result the French congregation was given the use of the church in Threadneedle Street, the larger Dutch group keeping the Friars and agreeing to pay one-half of the rent of the French church.[10] For three years these churches continued to hold service, until the unhappy death of Edward VI brought the first period of English hospitality to an end. A short time later an entry in the *Acts* of the Privy Council revealed that there was no longer any service being held in Austin Friars:

> Where the Churche of the Augustyne Freers in London standeth presently shut upp without any Divine Service used in the same, the Lords dyd this daye resolve that the Lorde Thresourer shuld have the ordering

7 A loose group of refugees had been here before, and the community was not a real church group till later.

8 The text of this very important document has been reprinted so many times that it is unnecessary to quote it here. The best, the original Latin, is in J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum* (Cantabrigiae, 1887-1897, 3 vols. in 4), III, No. 1. The French translation by John à Lasco is printed in Schickler, *Les églises*, III, 3-6. Other reprints of it are in Karl H. Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England* (Strassburg, 1885), 130 ff., and Friedrich C. Ebrard, *Die französisch-reformierte Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main* (1554-1904) (Frankfurt a. M., 1906), 15-29, where a discussion of it is given. For its significance see below, p. 176.

9 Cf. Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 28 f.

10 *Ibid.*, I, 36; George B. Beeman, "The Early History of the Strangers' Church, 1550 to 1561," HSL*Proc.*, XV (1933-37), 272.

of the said Churche, to thende he maye cause the same to be used with Dyvyne Service accordingly."[11]

While the London church was being organized, at the same time there was established another refugee group at Glastonbury, led by Valérand Poullain, under the patronage pre-eminently of Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.[12] This perspicacious man, perceiving the advantages of settling refugees in his province, made over to their use the old abbey, which had come into his possession as a result of the Dissolution. Here the refugees, mainly weavers, set up their trades, subsidized, supervised, and supported by the Duke. When the fall of Somerset after fourteen months cut off that important defender, the colonists sent an embassy to Cecil and the Privy Council, which on November 29, 1551, gave orders for the better provision of the exiles at Glastonbury, including housing and two cows for each family.[13] This helped, until the accession of Mary forced them to leave. The church organization of Glastonbury was based not upon that of the London congregation, which was drawn up by à Lasco, but upon that of Strasbourg.[14]

The third pre-Marian refugee church was that established at Canterbury under the leadership of Utenhove. Individual refugees had been here for some time, as might well have been expected, considering its geographical location in south-eastern England, and its importance for the spiritual life of the realm. Archbishop Cranmer took them under his protection. Strype says of these early exiles, "I find divers outlandish learned and godly men this year (1547) at Canterbury."[15] The organiza-

11 *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (London, 1890-1927, New Series, vols. 1-35, ed. by Sir John R. Dasent and H. C. Maxwell Lyte), 1554-56, p. 68, meeting of Aug. 27, 1554.

12 Accounts of the founding and progress of this church may be found in Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 59-67; Henry J. Cowell, "The French-Walloon Church at Glastonbury, 1550-1553," HSL*Proc.*, XIII (1923-29), 483-515; John Southerden Burn, *The History of the French, Walloon, Dutch and Other Foreign Protestant Refugees Settled in England . . .* (London, 1846), 90 ff.; Ebrard, *Gemeinde in Frankfurt*, 30-38; Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants*, 144 ff.; Ephraim Lipson, *The Economic History of England* (London, 1937), I, 493 f., and *The History of the Woollen and Worsted Industries* (London, 1921), 20 f. All of these are based for the most part on Strype, *Thomas Cranmer*, 346 ff.

13 Once there were but six houses for 46 refugees!

14 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 62.

15 Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials* III, 123. A letter from Peter Martyr to Utenhove, written Sept. 21, 1548, said: "In summa te omnesque sanctos quos tecum habes optamus in domino beneualere." Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 16, No. 5.

tion at Canterbury, however, is of importance largely for the Elizabethan period, for it was not until 1573 that letters patent were forthcoming and not until the next year that an agreement was made with the town authorities.[16]

Into this hopeful setting, which had bidden fair to offer to those cast out of their homelands a safe and permanent haven, the death of the young King Edward and the accession of that other child of Henry VIII, Mary, brought complete disruption. The but recently established refugee settlements found it impossible to remain longer in this land of their second choice, faced the necessity of setting out again on another difficult quest for safety. Back to the Continent they streamed, until very soon few were left in England. Cried Bullinger, viewing the catastrophe from Zürich, *"Ubi vero est Martyr noster? ubi Cranmerus Cantuariensis? ubi innumeri alii viri boni? Domine miserere illorum! Non facile dixero quant opere haec cor meum torqueant."*[17] Martyr was on the Continent; Cranmer was, or soon was to be, in prison; the rest were scattered all over Europe, wherever they could find a place to stay.

One group, having taken ship for Denmark, found itself rejected by the (Lutheran) authorities of one port after another, until many despaired ever of setting foot on friendly soil again. This company of wanderers was composed of those London refugees, to the number of one hundred seventy-five, who had embarked with à Lasco on two Danish ships on September 17, after Mary had come to the throne. Not all of the London group left at this time, but among the emigrants were à Lasco, Utenhove, and Micronius. The story of this remarkable voyage has been preserved by Utenhove in his *Simplex et fidelis narratio,* a narrative of great interest for the history of toleration in the

16 There exists some confusion on the chronology of the colony at Canterbury. Older writers take the date of the refugees' petition (1567, 1564, or 1561) as the date of the arrival (Schickler, *Les églises,* I, 282, note, e. g.). But Francis W. Cross, *History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury* (HSL*Publ.*, XV [1898]), 18, rejects this, taking 1574 as the probable date. Next year many came from Sandwich.

17 Quoted in Schickler, *Les églises,* I, 67.

sixteenth century.[18] In England the situation became more and more difficult, especially after the royal marriage.[19] Increasing pressure led to further emigration. During these same years many English Protestants were forced to flee to the Continent.

Among the first of the foreign groups to take advantage of the renewed freedom of worship for Protestants that came with the accession of Elizabeth were the many refugees who had been forced to leave England under Mary. In the fall of 1559 the first contingent returned, and were well received by the Queen.[20] In September Utenhove came with Pierre de Laene, and on December 11 addressed a request to the Queen for the restitution of their former privileges under the patent of Edward VI—*"quemadmodum et Judaei e captivitate Babylonica reversi Jerusalimam, templi instauratione, cultumque divinum juxta legis praescriptum auspiciis Cyri Regis Persarum, attesta Esdra, sunt auspicati. . . ."*[21] But the Privy Council of Elizabeth did not feel under obligation to renew the "perpetual" charter of 1550.[22]

About this time the number of refugees in and about London was five or six thousand.[23] The depredations of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, and the outbreak of the Third Civil War in France, 1569, increased the flow to England. Attention cannot be given here to the development and trials of the refu-

18 According to F. Pijper the purpose of the book was "om klaarheid te brengen waar duisterheid heerschte" (S. Cramer and F. Pijper [eds.], *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* ['s-Gravenhage, 1903-14, 10 vols.], IX, 3). A Lasco wrote in a preface to the work that he had given the task of narration "uiro clariss. D. Ioanni Vtenhovio, collegae nostro, & nostrarum in Anglia pridem Ecclesiarum presbytero: cuius sanè uiri probitas, fides, grauitas, eruditio atque integritas ipsa notior pijs passim omnibus, quàm ut ulla egeat commendatione" (*Simplex et fidelis narratio* [Basel, 1560], 4). A considerable controversy over the honesty and accuracy of the book, which was started in the seventeenth century by Bishop Ludwig Harboe, has continued to the present. But its good faith and correctness have been proved. Cf. R. Kayser, "Johannes à Lasco und die Londoner Flüchtlingsgemeinde in Hamburg, 1553-54," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte*, XXXVII (1938), 14. A copy of the original Latin edition (Basel, 1560), of which I have a reproduction in microfilm, may be found in the New York Public Library.

19 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 71.

20 *Ibid.*, 83 ff.

21 *State Papers Domestic, Eliz.*, VII, 63.

22 Van Schelven, *De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken*, 136.

23 The return of 1567 listed 4851, of whom 3838 were Flemish and 512 French. The return of 1568 listed 6704, of whom 5225 were Flemish and 1119 French. Of these 1815 went to the English church, 1910 to the Netherlandish, 1810 to the French, and 161 to the Italian. Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 148.

gee churches of the Elizabethan period, nor to the description of the later leaders. A small offshoot from London was the refugee community at Stamford, started 1572.[24]

Of the other pre-Marian groups, Canterbury was one that reappeared, although not nearly so soon as London, or, for that matter, some of the new Elizabethan communities. The petition to the magistrates falls probably in the year 1567, although it may have been earlier. Second in time only to the London group in the Elizabethan period was the new settlement at Sandwich, by letters patent, July 6, 1561, to "fleminge strangers, dutchmen alyiens," to the number of twenty-five families, which, with servants and others, totalled four hundred six individuals.[25] In 1568 there suddenly appeared a Walloon church in the town, with a register that extended till 1572. In 1571 there were five hundred seventy-two strangers, of whom eighty-nine were Walloons. Second in importance only to the London group was that of Norwich, which started its existence in 1565. Owing to the decayed condition of business and trade in that city, an invitation was held out to any refugees who wished to settle there, in the hope that their zeal and skill would bring prosperity.[26] On November 5, 1565, the Duke of Norfolk obtained a license by letters patent from the Queen, granting power to the city of Norwich to receive refugee men to the number of thirty, all householders and master workmen, with members of each household limited to ten. Accordingly, the exiles came, and

> These xxx masters wethe their same l'res then not passyng tenne paersons in a house begaune to make their com'odities as to them and everye of them was beste pleasinge and had favour therin of the maiestrates as them wolde.[27]

Organized into Flemish and Walloon churches, their numbers were considerable, as may be seen in the return of 1571, which gave 868 for the Dutch church and 203 for the Walloon, these

24 Strype, *Matthew Parker*, II, 148; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 218.

25 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 304; W. J. C. Moens, "Relief of the Poor Members of the French Churches in England," HSL*Proc.*, V (1894-96), 321; van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 178 ff.; Thomas Dorman, "Notes on the Dutch, Walloons, and Huguenots at Sandwich in the Sixteenth Century," HSL*Proc.*, II (1887-88), 207 f.

26 W. J. C. Moens, *The Walloons and Their Church at Norwich: Their History and Registers, 1565-1832* (HSL*Pubs.*, I (1887-88), 18: It was decided "to invite divers strangers of the Low Countreys, which were now come to London and Sandwich for refuge, which strangers had obtained licence from the Queen to exercise the making of Flanders commodities of wool in her Majesty's dominions."

27 *Ibid.*, 19.

figures including only the heads of families. Altogether there were 1056 men, 1085 women, 1842 children, totalling 3993 persons. They comprised one of the most important and significant groups of refugees in England, especially with regard to their economic activities, which made of Norwich a new city.

Only one year after the founding of the community at Norwich another group was established at Colchester, under the auspices of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.[28] So many refugees had settled here by 1580 that the poor of the town complained of a dearth caused by the great number of strangers. Acting on a petition, the Council in October forbade aliens to stay in the town unless they belonged to the refugee congregation.[29] In those days one need only have looked inside the "Dutch Bay Hall" to find ample proof of the prosperity of the community. *"En zoo steeg het stadje niet alleen in zielenaantal, maar ook niet minder in bloei en in welvaart."*[30] An interesting offshoot of the Colchester group was that established at Halstead in 1576, on petition to Walsingham by some of the Colchester refugees, through the instrumentality of Sir William Waldegrave.[31] It was agreed that thirty families might settle there, and this was done. But after a while the rather short-sighted selfishness of the native cloth workers drove them away. They never returned.

There is a tradition that the refugee community of Southampton existed before the time of Mary, but no evidence has ever been produced in support of it. Here was another town that welcomed strangers on account of the poor conditions that then prevailed. Having obtained permission from the Queen to "freely and peaceably make our abode and quietly exercise our marchandizing," they made petition to the magistrates and

28 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 187.

29 Samuel A. Courtauld, "East Anglia and the Huguenot Textile Industry," HSL*Proc.*, XIII (1923-29), 141. Cf. also W. J. Hardy, "Foreign Settlers at Colchester and Halstead," HSL*Proc.*, II (1887-88), 186; W. J. C. Moens (ed.), *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester from 1645 to 1728* (HSL*Pubs.*, XII [1905]), viii.

30 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 188.

31 Courtauld, "East Anglia," 138; Hardy, "Foreign Settlers," 194 ff.

were allowed to settle to the number of twenty families, with ten servants for each, under certain conditions.[32]

The remaining refugee communities in England, for the most part small, need only be mentioned here. The Maidstone colony, of all that complained of their poverty, was the most chronically poor.[33] They are first heard of in 1568, in connection with their important trade in thread.[34] In the same year a number of widely scattered and small communities arose: the fishing center at Yarmouth attracted some refugee fishemen;[35] at King's Lynn there were one hundred seventy-six Netherlandish refugees in 1568;[36] the same time saw the beginning of a small refugee community in the Channel Islands, where individuals had probably settled earlier;[37] the group at Dover, which dates from 1570, had a special character, in that its membership was much more fluctuating than that of the other churches. Not until 1576 was there a formally established church in the town for refugees.[38] There were other settlements at Coventry,[39] Ipswich,[40] and Thetford.[41] The situation at Rye, like that at Dover, was of a special character. The refugees here, for one thing, were mostly Normans. The membership fluctuated so much that the fluc-

32 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 324 f.: a church for worship; right to exercise trades; right to have servants; scale of house rent based on norm of last 2 years; right to export surplus; right to dyers to export rough stuff if local production did not suffice for support; right of work to shoemakers and tailors. See below, p. 31. Cf. also W. J. C. Moens, "Walloon Settlements and the French Church at Southampton," HSL*Proc.*, III 1888-91), 56 ff., especially 59; J. W. de Grave, "Notes on the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton, and on the Churches of the Channel Islands," HSL*Proc.*, V (1894-96), 126; *Victoria County Histories, Hampshire*, V, 484 f., 528.

33 See references in Hessels, *Archivum*, II, III, *passim*: e.g., III, Nos. 194, 214, 219, 284, 297.

34 *Victoria County Histories, Kent*, III, 408; Edward Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent . . .* (Canterbury, 1797-1801, 12 vols.), IV, 267.

35 Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 216; Henry Swinden, *The History and Antiquities of the Ancient Burgh of Great Yarmouth* (Norwich, 1772), 942-46.

36 Moens, *Walloons and Their Church at Norwich*, 36; *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, III1, 228.

37 Grave, "Notes," 140; Ferdinand B. Tupper, *The History of Guernsey and Its Bailiwick* (London, 1876), 152. Tupper finds exiles there in 1565.

38 G. H. Overend, "Strangers at Dover," HSL*Proc.*, III (1888-91), 121; Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 203; Hessels, *Archivum*, III, Nos. 972, 1077.

39 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 204. Little is known about this group.

40 Vincent B. Redstone, "The Dutch and Huguenot Settlements of Ipswich," HSL*Proc.*, XII (1917-23), 184, 185, 186. They were numerous enough to form a church in 1568 and 1573.

41 *Ibid.*, 186.

tuating element might well be called the whole Protestant population of Dieppe, which moved back and forth across the Channel a number of times, according to the degree of persecution that prevailed in France. High points of immigration fell in 1562, 1569-70, 1572, 1577, and 1585.[42]

Small numbers of refugees also found their way to Scotland and even to Ireland, where a little community existed at Swords, near Dublin, under the patronage of Sir Henry Sidney, in 1576.[43] In Scotland a more considerable effort at settling refugees was made by the city of Edinburgh, which decided in 1586 to attract Dutch refugee workers. An act of Parliament in 1587 facilitated the financing of the colony, with the result that some Flemish weavers arrived in a ship that "brocht hame the Flemyng Wobsters, Walkers, Wevers and Litsters."[44]

Thus ends the survey of the English exile communities that were established during the sixteenth century. Much more will be said about each of these in the appropriate places. Taken altogether they form one of the most interesting and important aspects of the history, both religious and economic, of that fascinating century.

2. Germany

The importance for German lands of the refugee movement as a whole is by no means negligible. Counting the French exiles alone, but including the great exodus of 1685, the number of refugee-descended folk in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century was about one million.[45] The history of the Rhineland and of Prussia has been especially influenced by these foreigners, and some of the finest cultural and industrial achievements of the German state have been due to the presence of a high-class body of non-German people who had been rejected and exiled by their native lands.

A number of classifications of the communities may be made, of which the simplest is the geographical. Three major

42 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 292-97.

43 Constantia Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources (1509-1610)* (London, 1923), 375; Cunningham, *Alien Immigration*, 185 f.; Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots . . .* (New York, 1868), 125. The last two only refer to the statement of Sidney in 1590.

44 A. W. C. Hallen, "Huguenots in Scotland," HSL*Proc.*, II (1887-88), 169. They got a church and lodging for the minister.

45 DHV*Gbl.*, I, Introd., 7.

areas may be delineated: (1) the Lower Rhine, (2) the Middle Rhine, and (3) the Alsatian region, leading into Switzerland. But there is yet another important area, outside of these three: the Bremen-Hamburg region. Geographically it is exceptional, lying outside of the crescent-moon shaped area described earlier. The most notable physiographic determinant, of course, is the Rhine River and its valley. Closely associated in every way with the Low Countries, the Lower Rhine forms almost a unit with them. Only the arbitrary lines of political divisions kept Cleve-Mark and Jülich-Berg separate from Gelderland. But in economic relations and in religious interaction there were no barriers. The ships that plied the waters of the Rhine along Gelderland's banks were the same as the vessels sailing along those of Cleve; and the teachings of Gerhard Groote, Erasmus, and others encountered no more barriers across the valley of the Rhine than across the Zuider Zee. Likewise, from the West, from France, there was little more difficulty in gaining access to the populous Rhineland, or to Switzerland.

Another classification, one which is not used in this section, is based on the type of community in which exiles settled. Aachen and Cologne, for example, were relatively independent powers in themselves, the former being an imperial city, the latter powerful under its own archbishop-elector. But Wesel, Goch, Emmerich, and other communities were, by contrast, subject to a territorial ruler, with whom they had to reckon. This factor had inevitable consequences for the refugees settled in various places.

Still another classification, the economic, is mentioned here only in passing, since much fuller treatment will be given in a later chapter.[46] The main line of division here lies between those refugee groups that were located in a town already fixed in a system of customs and practices—the "old" community—and those refugee groups that on their own part founded new communities, in which the exiles therefore would constitute the majority.

As in the case of England, where aliens were present in considerable numbers in the fourteenth century, invited by Edward III, so in Germany there were Netherlanders long before

46 See below, ch. vi.

the sixteenth century.[47] But in the years of the Reformation the economic and religious importance of the refugees took on new significance. The movement began early, in the twenties and thirties, when immigrants, especially Anabaptists, came from Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland to the Lower Rhine and to the Duchy of Prussia.[48] There came a few to Bremen, and many of course to Münster, where one can speak as much of an invasion as of a flight. With the approach of the forties a new type of refugee began to arrive: the Calvinist. The early ones went for the most part to England; but after 1553 Germany became the central refuge. As for French refugees, they were present in Strasbourg in the thirties. Calvin's presence here made the town of especial importance for the religious history of Germany and France alike.

The history of religious exiles in Germany is complicated by the maze of local resettlement between the lands of Catholic and Lutheran and Calvinist princes and muncipalities. To take, for example, the Palatinate: its religion changed from Lutheranism to Calvinism in 1562, back again to Lutheranism in 1577, then to Calvinism again in 1584.[49] Each time the true believers, who disagreed with the official religion, had to get out. The ease with which these "local" exiles found refuge, as well as the welcome extended aliens, was made possible by the attitude of friendliness and sympathy, grounded either in religious conviction or economic policy, that characterized some of the outstanding princes of the Empire. Among these the one to whom most credit is due was Frederick III, Count Palatine and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire.[50] Ruling in his relatively widespread lands from 1559 to 1576, a zealous Calvinist, he opened the borders of his territory to refugees from both France and the Low Countries. Not only in his own territory did he take care of exiles; but he sought to ease the lot of many who had sought refuge elsewhere. After his death, in spite of the

47 Cf. A. von Wersebe, *Uber die niederländischen Kolonien, welche im nördlichen Teutschland im 13. Jahrhundert gestiftet worden* (Hanover, 1815-16).

48 George Witzel, "Gewerbegeschichtliche Studien zur niederländischen Einwanderung in Deutschland im 16. Jahrhundert," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XXIX (1910), 119.

49 Scheichl, *Glaubensflüchtlinge*, 25.

50 Cf. August Kluckhohn, *Friedrich der Fromme* (Nördlingen, 1877-79, 2 vols.); also Andre Paul, "Réfugiés huguenots et wallons dans le Palatinat du Rhin du XVIe siècle à la Revolution," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928), 264-76.

intolerant Lutheranism of his son and successor, Louis VI (1576-1583), his spirit of friendliness was carried on by John Casimir, the younger brother, who in his principality of Simmern received those ejected by Louis, and, when he became regent during the minority of his nephew, Frederick IV, brought Calvinism back to the Palatinate. Other princes were active in this work.

In this way a great number of settlements were made, some large, as in Frankfurt, some very small, as at Schönau. All were tied together by bonds of language, but even more important, by their mutual ill-fortune as exiles in a strange land. Naturally they set up connections with one another, of which one means was the synodal organization, started at Emden. This organization of separate independent churches into a loose federation in which the annual and seasonal synod played a central part, was one of the most significant developments for the ecclesiastical history of the period. It made possible a more efficient method of providing for doctrinal discussion, for common support of students for the ministry, for assistance to small and weak sister churches, and for discussion of the many problems that confronted all exiles. The synodal organization was extended to include the English refugee groups, although these, for financial and political reasons, found it difficult to co-operate fully.

With this background a brief survey of the various refugee communities in Germany will now be given. Making use of the geographical classification, the first section to receive notice, because earliest in point of time, is Strasbourg and Alsace. The Rhenish city from the beginning of its Protestant history had been a place of refuge; but soon a new type began to come. The first of these was François Lambert, who arrived in 1524. Others followed close on his heels, all men who had been forced to leave their native France for the sake of convictions that for them came before all else.[51] Already in 1524 Capito wrote to

51 Information on the early individuals may be found in Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin, les hommes et les choses de son temps* (Lausanne, 1899-1927, 7 vols.), II, 357 ff.; Franziskus Petri, "Strassburgs Beziehungen zu Frankreich während der Reformationszeit," *Elsass-Lothringisches Jahrbuch*, VIII (1929), 134-165. A short account of their history is in Rodolphe Reuss, *Histoire de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1922), 129 ff. By the same author: *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de l'église française de Strasbourg 1538-1794* (Strasbourg, 1880).

Heinrich Sturm: *"Argentoratum perfugium fratrum exulum. Huc omnes devenerunt undique expulsi et hunc iterum ad verbi ministerium emittuntur."*[52] The most important single event in the history of the French church at Strasbourg was the coming of John Calvin in September, 1538. His stay of two years in the city is too well known to merit discussion here, but his influence upon both the refugee community and the Reformation in the Alsatian city was enormous.[53] Finally, in 1563, in spite of Calvin's plea from Geneva, the Church of St. André, where the French refugees worshipped, was closed, on account of doctrinal difficulties.[54] Another troop of exiles came in 1569, were admitted and given a house in which "to emplore the mercy of God in their profound affliction."[55] But this group in turn was abolished in 1577, when Calvinist services were forbidden. As to the importance of the position of this French refugee church in relation to the Reformed Church of France, Emile Doumergue has this to say:

> Ces vingt-cinq années d'existence avaient suffi à la petite Eglise pour remplir sa mission providentielle, mission qui n'était rien moins que de servir de modèle aux Eglises réformées de France. Le modèle pouvait en effet être supprimé, copie en avait été prise et les reproductions allaient se multiplier avec rapidité. Florimond de Raemond l'a dit avec colère: "Bref, c'est là, où *la première Eglise françoise,* qu'ils appellent, fut dressée pour servir de modelle et de patron aux autres, qu'on a veu depuis çà et là s'establir en la France."[56]

Leaving Strasbourg and the upper Rhine, the next region is the lands held along the Lower Rhine by the Duke of Cleves and others. The two cities of Aachen and Cologne were among the earliest centers for Netherlandish refugees in Germany. In the autumn of 1544 some Walloon Calvinists were admitted by the Council of the city of Aachen in order that they might bring

52 Quoted in Petri, "Strassburgs Beziehungen," 139.

53 Doumergue, *Calvin,* II, is the best for this period. Cf. also Marie Théodore Renouard de Bussierre, *Histoire de l'établissement du protestantisme à Strasbourg et en Alsace, d'après des documents inedits* (Paris, 1856, in 2 vols.), I, 214 ff.

54 De Bussierre, *Protestantisme à Strasbourg,* II, 109 f.

55 *Ibid.,* II, 110.

56 Doumergue, *Calvin,* II, 373. There is in progress a controversy over the real place that Strasbourg holds—or rather that the French Church in Strasbourg holds—in the history of the French Reformation. There can be no doubt, however, that it certainly is an important one.

new methods to the cloth industry.[57] The first Dutch refugees came in 1555, from Antwerp. Their further troubles belong to the discussion of their economic life. The history of the exiles at Cologne was much the same as that of the Aachen strangers.

The homogeneous group of communities in the Clevish lands and adjoining territories may be treated more or less as a unit. The most important was Wesel, where the year 1544 also marks the beginning of the colony.[58] The arrival in 1554 of part of the refugees from England under à Lasco gave strength to the church. So great was the new influx in 1567 that Wesel earned the nickname "Klein-Antwerpen," and was honored by inclusion in the couplet that heads the present chapter. But this haven of the church fell on evil days. Continued pressure from Alva and others resulted in stricter regulation, although the magistrates of Wesel were more loyal to the refugees than the Duke of Cleve. The plague and the Jesuits succeeded in making the place very uncomfortable for Protestants. The colony revived, however, at the end of the century. The other refugee communities of the Lower Rhine were less important than Wesel. There were English and Dutch exiles in Duisburg,[59] Emmerich,[60] Goch,[61] and Gennep.

Moving up the Rhine, the outstanding city for the foreign immigration was Frankfurt, on the Main River. Since much space will be devoted to this city in a later chapter,[62] only a short

57 This fits in with the common motive of hope of economic advantage in accepting groups of refugees. On this occasion the Council recorded that the refugees had been received because they had promised "wurseyen und arreschen zu machen, die sollten sie die burgerskinder lehren" (Eduard Simons (ed.), *Synodalbuch. Die Akten der Synoden und Quartierkonsistorien in Jülich, Cleve und Berg 1570-1610* [Neuwied, 1909], 15). Cf. J. Fey, *Zur Geschichte Aachens im 16. Jahrhundert* (Aachen, 1905), 14; L. Knappert, *Het Ontstaan en de Vestiging van het Protestantisme in de Nederlanden* (Utrecht, 1924), 304.

58 Fr. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch- und französisch-reformirten Gemeinde zu Wesel," DHV*Gbl.*, V2-4, p. 3; Wilhelm Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung der niederländischen Religionsflüchtlinge im 16. Jahrhundert in Wesel und ihre Bedeutung für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung dieser Stadt* (Wesel, 1913, Diss. Kiel, IX, 1913), 10; Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 284 ff.

59 The work of Heinrich Averdunk, *Geschichte der Stadt Duisburg bis zur entgültigen Vereinigung mit dem Hause Hohenzollern* (Duisburg, 1894-95), is best.

60 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 304 ff.

61 Walther Bösken, "Die niederländischen Flüchtlingsgemeinde zu Goch und ihre Ordnung von 1570," *Zeitschrift des bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XXXVI (1903), 190, 201.

62 See below, chap. vi.

notice of the colonies there will be given now.[63] In the years 1554 and 1555 there arrived some English and Dutch, both for the most part from England. They did not stay for a long time, because of religious and economic opposition, and in 1561 religious freedom was taken away. Those who left Frankfurt at various times founded Frankenthal, Schönau, and St. Lambrecht refugee communities, all of which soon became quite prosperous. Then in 1567 other exiles came, till by 1569 there were more than thirteen hundred settled in Frankfurt.[64] The magistrates continued to view the refugees askance, fearing another Münster uprising of the *"vil böser, unruhiger, uffrührischer, verloffener Leut und Wiedertäufer,"* who they thought were among the strangers.[65] The colonies grew, however, and formed a French Reformed, a Dutch Reformed, and a Netherlandish Lutheran congregation.[66] With economic restrictions added to the religious ones, the prohibition of Calvinist worship in 1596 brought on a crisis, with the result that the exiles had to depart. There is no doubt that this departure was a heavy blow to Frankfurt's economy.

Most of these refugees of the second exodus went to Hanau, where Count Philip Ludwig II of Hanau-Münzeburg gave them license to settle, granting a Capitulation in 1597.[67] A chapter is devoted to the special position of this colony.[68] One other community should be mentioned here, although it properly belongs to a later period: Mannheim, another good example of a new city built by refugees, like Hanau.[69]

Closely associated with the Frankfurt group, geographically speaking, were those of the Palatinate, which was under

63 An entensive literature has been built up on Frankfurt; see especially Friedrich Bothe, *Geschichte der Stadt Frankfurt am Main in Wort und Bild* (Frankfurt a. M., 1913), and Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte* (Frankfurt a. M., 1921, 5 vols.). Also Witzel, Ebrard, Van Schelven (211 ff.).

64 Bothe, *Die Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung in der Reichsstadt Frankfurt bis zur Revolution 1612-14* (Leipzig, 1906), 222.

65 *Ibid.*, 223.

66 See Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte*, II, 35 ff.

67 For Hanau see Richard Frei, *Die Bedeutung der niederländischen Einwanderer für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der Stadt Hanau* (Hanau, 1926, Diss. Giessen, 1927); J. B. Leclercq, *Une église réformé au 17e siècle ou histoire de l'église wallonne de Hanau depuis sa fondation jusqu'à l'arrivée dans son sein des réfugiés français* (Hanau, 1868). Also Lorenz Caspari, *Die Entwicklung des Hanauer Edelmetallgewerbes von seiner Entstehung im Jahre 1597 bis zum Jahre 1873* (Elberfeld, 1916, Diss. Freiburg).

68 See below, chap. vi.

69 Eberhard Gothein, "Mannheim im ersten Jahrhundert seines Bestehens," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. IV (1889), 129-211.

the benevolent rule of Frederick III and John Casimir. The first and most important colony was located at Frankenthal, which was still another of the new towns. Until 1562 the place was a tiny village consisting of two Augustinian cloisters, the "Greater" and the "Lesser." In July of that year, however, Peter Dathenus came with sixty families, and got permission to settle at Frankenthal. Their Capitulation gave them the greater cloister and broad privileges.[70] The colony grew apace, until presently it was a flourishing town. As Van Schelven has put it,

> Op burgerlijk gebied gaf hij hun voorrecht op voorrecht, zoodat het—bij den ijver der vluchtelingen—dan ook niet lang duurde of Frankenthal aanvankelijk niet meer dan een enkel klooster met eenige bijgebouwen was een der eerste steden van heel het keurvorstendom geworden.[71]

A smaller group of refugees had come to Otterberg at about the same time, but little is known about them.[72] Mention should also be made of the communities at St. Lambrecht-Grevenhausen,[73] Heidelberg,[74] and Annweiler.[75] Beside these mid-Rhenish communities there were two others in the same area, Wetzlar, where sixty families settled in 1586, and the Diez and Siegen groups patronized by the Count of Nassau.[76]

The survey of the German portion of the crescent-moon shaped area of refugee communities is now complete. There remain, however, some other important groups, outside and to the east of the main line. In Friesland the name of Emden stands out, for one thing because of its association with the life of John à Lasco, and for another because of its central position

70 Cf. J. Wille, *Stadt und Festung Frankenthal während des dreissigjährigen Kriegs* (Heidelberg, 1877), 8. For Frankenthal see also Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 234 ff.; F. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch-reformirten Gemeinde zu Frankenthal," DHV*Gbl.*, III3, 26 pp.

71 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 248.

72 Then spelled Otterburg. J. Knecht, "Die wallonisch Gemeinde zu Otterberg," DHV*Gbl.*, I7, 6.

73 T. Gümbel, "Die wallonisch-französische Fremdengemeinde in St. Lambrecht-Grevenhausen," DHV*Gbl.*, II2, 7.

74 F. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch-reformirte Gemeinde zu Heidelberg," DHV*Gbl.*, II4, 13 pp. See also Ludwig Häusser, *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz* (Heidelberg, 1845, 2 vols.; 2. Ausg., 1856, 2 vols.), II, 59.

75 F. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch-reformirten Gemeinde zu Annweiler," DHV*Gbl.*, II1, 14 pp.

76 F. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch- und deutsch-reformirten Gemeinde zu Wetzlar," DHV*Gbl.*, VII2-3, 45 pp. K. Wolf, "Des Grafen Johann von Nassau Bemühungen um die niederländischen Flüchtlinge," *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde*, VII reeks, V (1935), 187-208.

in the synodal organization of the stranger churches. Exiles were here early from the Netherlands, in 1544, but their numbers were barely sufficient for forming a congregation.[77] The Walloon group was definitely founded in 1554, with à Lasco and the Flemish folk from London arriving from their long voyage. The French-speaking and the English-speaking groups formed their own separate congregations, while the "Germans" joined the Reformed congregation in Emden.[78] The high point of emigration came in 1567, when, in the middle of a cold winter, a caravan of three hundred fifty people crossed the ice of the Zuider Zee, seeking a refuge in East Friesland.

Farther to the east, beyond the Weser, lay the groups centered around Hamburg. Stade and Altona were sites for offshoots of the larger city, organizations resulting from the ecclesiastical difficulties encountered in Hamburg.[79] English were there in 1567, mostly merchants driven from Antwerp by Alva; more and more Netherlanders came after this time. Along the River Weser were ranged the unimportant communities of refugees at Hameln, Kassel, and Celle nearby. Bremen more properly belongs to a later period. Mention should also be made of numbers of exiles, or at least immigrants, in Leipzig, and in

77 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 39; J. N. Pleines, "Die französisch reformirte Kirche in Emden," DHV*Gbl.*, I[2], 20 pp.

78 Bernhard Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1910-12, 2 vols. Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte, III, VI), III, 122. Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 49 ff., points out that, so far as the Flemish refugees were concerned, no "refugee church" such as existed at London was to be found, but rather the *landskerk* corresponded to the exile church of London. They did not care for their poor separately; in fact, only the "*vluchtelingenelement in die Kerk*" can be spoken of. This fact brings out the importance of the language element. But also, in places where the language was different (e.g., Scotland) assimilation took place if other conditions were favorable.

79 Rudolf Hermes, *Aus der Geschichte der deutschen evangelisch-reformierten Gemeinde in Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1924), 10; Otto Beneke, "Zur Geschichte der nichtlutherischen Christen in Hamburg 1575 bis 1589. . . ," *Zeitschrift des Vereines für Hamburgische Geschichte*, VI (1875), 319; W. Sillem, "Zur Geschichte der Niederländer in Hamburg von ihrer Ankunft his zum Abschluss des Niederländischen Contracts 1605," *Zeitschrift des V. für Hamb., Gesch.*, VII (1883), 560; *idem*, "Die wallonische Gemeinde in Stade," DHV*Gbl.*, II[6], 8; H. Tollin, Urkunden zur Geschichte hugenottischer Gemeinden in Deutschland," DHV*Gbl.*, II[10], 38; Sillem, "Der 'Krankentrosten'," 573 ff.

Saxony under the two electors August and Christian, where many refugees of the Augsburg Confession settled.[80]

Another region, the last to claim attention under the heading of Germany, was that of the Duchy of Prussia and Polish Prussia. They were to be found in Elbing, Polish Prussia, where there were refugees in 1530.[81] Duke Albrecht favored the Netherlanders, and his reception of refugees was only part of his general policy of colonization. Thus many Hollanders were settled in rural areas, especially around Preussisch-Holland, and only a few found their way to cities like Königsberg. Danzig admitted a colony.

This completes the panorama of exiles in German lands. These, together with those in England, constitute the largest portion, both in area and in number, of the refugees anywhere in Europe. Only smaller, although no less interesting, regions remain to be taken into consideration.

3. Switzerland

Special circumstances, which set it apart from the other large areas, prevailed in Switzerland. As far as the French *émigrés* were concerned, it well might be compared with the Upper Rhine, with Strasbourg. But the rather unique system of government in the Cantons put even these Frenchmen in a different position. Furthermore, the movement of Italian refugees here was larger than anywhere else in Europe. In spite of its importance, however, the Italian refuge lasted but one-half century, while the French movement was of greater duration.

Taking the Italian exiles first, one is struck first by the peculiarly high-class tone of their position in life.[82] Although

80 Johannes Falke, *Die Geschichte des deutschen Handels* (Leipzig, 1859-60, 2 vols.), II, 55, 95; *Die Geschichte des Kurfürsten August von Sachsen in volkwirtschaftlichen Beziehung* (Leipzig, 1868); Georg Friedrich August Quandt, *Die Niederlausitzer Schafwollindustrie in ihrer Entwicklung zum Grossbetrieb und zur modernen Technik* (Leipzig, 1895. *Staats- und socialwissenschaftiche Forschungen,* XIII [57. Heft]), 12.

81 Cf. especially Bruno Schumacher, *Niederländische Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1525-1568)* (Leipzig, 1903, *Publication des Vereins für die Geschichte von Ost- und West-Preussen*), the most comprehensive work.

82 J. B. G. Galiffe, *Le refuge italien de Genève aux XVIe et XVIIme siècles* (Genève, 1881), 17: "Le refuge italien est donc, dans son ensemble, un refuge éminemment distingué et aristocratique dans le meilleur sens du terme. . . ."

many artisans took part in the flight, many business men of high standards and many people of letters, and nobles, and eminent preachers, also went into exile. The center of activity lay around the refugees from Locarno, who had been forced to leave their city because of political complications. On January 16, according to Bluntschli, there came from "Luggarus" to Zürich thirty-one householders, being two hundred eleven persons, *"im grosser Winter-Kälte."*[83] They soon had a church and chose Bernardino Ochino as their pastor. Many famous families were represented, among them the Muralti, the Orelli, the Pestalozzi, the Albertini. Later many of these folk left and went to Basel because of economic restrictions placed upon their activity in Zürich.[84]

Turning to the French refugees, attention is directed first to the famous Geneva. No time can be spent on the political and religious situation in this city, interesting though it is.[85] Although there are references to Italian refugees here also, its central importance rests with the French *émigrés,* who finally became so numerous that the government of the city fell under their control, or rather, under Calvin's control, with their help. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew brought a renewed wave, and in the next year also a Flemish church was established in the town. Although Geneva was the most important center for French refugees, colonies were to be found in Zürich, and in Basel.

4. The Netherlands

The situation in the Netherlands must be studied from two different angles: (1) The departure of thousands of people from the Low Countries to England Germany, and so forth; and (2) the migration of Calvinists from the Southern to the Northern Provinces. The first point is too well known to require further discussion. During the early years most of the

82 Bluntschli, *Memorabilia Tigurina,* 185.

84 Traugott Geering, *Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel* (Basel, 1886), *passim.*

85 The fullest account of the political and religious development of Geneva during the Reformation period is Eugène Choisy, *La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin* (Genève, 1897), and *L'état chrétien calviniste à Genève au XVIe siècle* (Genève, 1909). The best presentation from the point of view of Calvin's life is Doumergue, *Jean Calvin.*

refugees fled to England, especially from Ypres.[86] Granvelle himself admitted the gravity of the situation after receiving a report from D'Assonleville: The people were leaving for England in great numbers,

> . . . tellement qu'elle [the Queen] proufficte plus de Brabant, de Hollande et de la moictié de Flandres que le Roy propre, comme je suis tousjours prest de monstrer par vives et ardentes raisons. . . .[87]

The poor condition of the Low Countries at the time of the emigration need not be emphasized here. Flanders had been laid waste and depopulated, and the sack of Antwerp in 1585 capped the climax.

Turning to the migration from southern to northern provinces, it is difficult to distinguish the refugee colonies from new native churches that were springing up in the Northern Provinces at the same time. Sometimes the exiles would merely join the native congregation, and thus be assimilated; but in other cases, especially in that of the Walloon, French-speaking elements, a church in exile was organized that maintained its distinctive character for many decades.[88] Leyden was the scene of one of the earliest of these communities.[89] Two years later refugees in Utrecht organized a church.[90] In 1584 the church community at Vlissingen acquired a permanent minister, and in the following year refugee Walloon communities sprang up in The Hague and in Amsterdam, where the congregation, on account of the arrival of a large body from Antwerp, was large

86 H. Q. Janssen, "De hervormde Vlugtelingen van Yperen in Engeland," *Bijdragen tot de Oudheidkunde en Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen,* II (1857), 212: Of Ypres: "'t Was dáár eindelijk, dat een' schare van burgers hun' vaderstad ontvlugtte, om in het gastvrije Engeland veiligheid te zoeken voor Alba's schrikbewind en God te dienen naar de inspraak van hun geweten."

87 Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal de Granvella, *Correspondence du Cardinal de Granvelle* (Bruxelles, 1877-1896, 12 vols.), I, 343, letter of June 30, 1566.

88 But even the Walloon refugees did not always establish a separate refugee church, but joined a native Walloon church that was already in existence. Cf. F. H. Gagnebin, "Introduction," *Bulletin de la Commission de l'histoire des Eglises Wallonnes,* I (1885), 16.

89 W. N. du Rieu, "Lambert Daneau à Leyde; fondation de la communauté wallonne à Leyde, le 27 mars 1581," *Bulletin de la Com. de l'hist. des Eglises Wall.,* I (1885), 78.

90 P. E. H. Bodel Bienfait, "L'église Wallonne d'Utrecht (1583-1757)," *Bul. de la C. de l'hist. des Egl. Wall.,* III (1888), 2.

enough to have two ministers.[91] 1586 saw the beginnings of the exile congregations of Haarlem and Arnemuiden.[92] Other communities were those of Ziericzee (1587), Rotterdam (organized 1590), and Campen (1596).

Now the panoramic survey of the different Protestant refugee communities of the sixteenth century in Europe is complete. Notable are the facts that the individual settlements were widely scattered, but that the main area was shaped like a crescent moon, including southern England, the Low Countries, the Rhineland, and Switzerland. With this panorama outlined as a geographical and chronological frame, the study of the life that the refugees lived, the means of support that they used, the industries new and old that they introduced, the influence that their presence wrought in the towns which received them, and the relation that their economic activity had to the religious beliefs for which they had gone into exile, may now be undertaken.

91 Gagnebin, "Introduction," *Comission*, 16. For The Hague see E. Bourlier and E. Lacheret, *Souvenir du troisième centenaire de l'église wallonne de la Haye* (La Haye, 1891), the most comprehensive work; see also F. H. Gagnebin, "Etablissement de l'église wallonne de la Haye," *Bul. de la C. de l'hist. des Egl. Wall.*, I (1885), 306.

92 F. H. Gagnebin, "L'église wallonne de Harlem," *Comission*, II (1887), 204 f.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND: STATUS IN RELATION TO THE GOVERNMENT

Et quod idem Superintendens et Ministri in re et nomine sint et erunt vnum corpus corporatum et politicum de se per nomen Superintendentis et Ministrorum ecclesiae Germanorum et aliorum peregrinorum ex fundacione Regis Edwardi sexti in Ciuitate Londoniensi per presentes incorporamus ac corpus corporatum et politicum per idem nomen realiter et ad plenum creamus erigimus ordinamus facimus et constituimus. . . .

Charter of London Dutch Church, 1550

1. Terms of Settlement

When a group of refugees arrived in some port along the English coast, they were ordinarily received hospitably by the municipal authorities and given temporary lodging in the town. A few had funds, exceptional individuals were wealthy; but most were penniless. Usually the majority of the townspeople sympathized with the exiles and participated in the welcome accorded them. Then either the refugees themselves submitted a petition to the royal government requesting a license to settle in some place in England, or the municipal authorities wrote for permission to receive permanently those who had fled to their shores for the sake of religion. If the government found these proposals acceptable, a license, usually in the form of letters patent, would be granted under the Great Seal or the Privy Seal for the reception and settlement of a certain number of strangers in that place. With these documents in their favor the refugee communities acquired a definite legal status that was of no small help to them when opposition developed, as in most cases it did. Since these arrangements were of a political and legal rather than economic and religious nature, only the outstanding points need be mentioned.

The first to form themselves into a community and request a license to establish a church were the exiles in London. In

the year 1550, an important one for the refugee history, a charter of King Edward VI granted to them the necessary privileges and the church of Austin Friars for their services.[1] In addition to the grant of a church building they were provided with an ecclesiastical organization that was described as a *corpus corporatum et politicum*,[2] and consisted of the superintendent and the four ministers, two of whom were to be French and two Dutch. John à Lasco was appointed first superintendent, and retained political and ecclesiastical control of the refugees until the time of Queen Mary. Finally, the officers of city, state, and church were admonished to allow the community full liberty of worship and discipline, notwithstanding differences from the English forms.[3] These terms were indeed quite liberal and generous, and the refugees were delighted with them. It is interesting to note, however, that there was no stipulation with regard to the economic privileges they might expect to enjoy. In this respect the letters patent to the London group differ from almost all the other charters. The reason for this is probably that most of the strangers were already in London and engaged in industrial and commercial pursuits. Hence the need for economic stipulations would not be so urgent.

Of the other communities, that at Norwich was the most important.[4] For many years its members flourished under the

1 July 24, 1550. The original text is printed in Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 4-7, No. 14. For the various appearances of the charter in print see *ibid.*, 4, n. 1.

2 See quotation at head of chap. ii (Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 6).

3 "Mandamus et firmiter iniungendum precipimus tam Maiori Vicecomitibus et Aldermannis Ciuitatis nostre Londoniensis Episcopo Londoniensi et successoribus suis cum omnibus aliis Archiepiscopis Episcopis Justiciarijs Officiarijs et Ministris nostris quibuscumque quod permittant prefatis Superintendenti et Ministris et sua suos [successoribus suis] libere et quiete frui gaudere vti et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiaram non obstante quod non conueniant cum ritibus et ceremonijs in Regno nostro vsitatis absque impeticione perturbacione aut inquietacione eorum vel alicuius Aliquo statuto actu proclamacione iniuncione restriccione seu vsu incontrarium inde antehac habitis factis editis seu promulgatis incontrarium non obstantibus." Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 7.

4 Nov. 1, 1565.

privileges granted for their economic activity.[5] Thirty families of Netherlanders were allowed to settle in the town, all householders to be master workmen and no more than ten individuals to be attached to any one family. They were permitted to exercise "the faculties of making Bays Arras Sayes Tapstrey Mockadoes Staments Carsay and such other outlandish com'modities as hath not bene used to be made within this our Realme of England."[6] Furthermore they had the right to rent and dwell in whatsoever houses and shops they had need of, and were guaranteed the freedom of activity necessary for peaceful and productive life notwithstanding any of the statutes in restriction of aliens stemming from the legislation of Kings Richard III and Henry VIII.[7] Other provisions were made later.

Rather different from the procedure at Norwich was that at Glastonbury, location of one of the pre-Marian settlements. When the Duke of Somerset conceived the idea of settling some refugees, he made use of one of the abandoned abbeys that had been empty since the Dissolution. Just why he should have been so much interested in this work is not entirely explained by the material available. Apparently he hoped that his community of Glastonbury would profit from the association with the strangers. More than likely his real sympathy for the oppressed, together with his preference for Protestant ideas, had much to do with his activity. He promised to provide houses,[8] and sufficient pasturage for the maintenance of livestock. An "inspector," Henry Cornish, was appointed to oversee their operations, but he appears to have been interested less in the welfare of the refugees than in his own. Altogether the settlement at Glastonbury seems to have rested on much less firm legal foundation than that at London. Although Valérand Poullain, like à Lasco at London, was made superintendent, his authority

5 The scope of the privileges is especially notable in contrast to the restrictions that prevailed before the arrival of the refugees. In 1535 one Nicholas Isborn was allowed to practise his goldsmith's trade only if he agreed to take as apprentice no one born outside the Realm, and to take no helper without permission of the Mayor. He was charged £5 (a very large sum) for admission to St. George's Gild, and was not permitted to sell at retail. Moens, *Walloon Church at Norwich,* 17.

6 Moens, *Walloon Church at Norwich,* App. X, 244-45.

7 See below, 82 ff.

8 But nevertheless a serious housing shortage developed: at one time there were only six houses for the sheltering of forty-six families! Lipson, *Economic History of England,* I, 493.

in the economic sphere was restricted by the "inspector" Cornish.[9]

There is little to be found in the other colonies different from the legal situation at London, Norwich, and Glastonbury. The letters patent granted to the refugees at Sandwich served as a model for many of the other communities, but nothing spectacular is to be found in the document.[10] As to the refugees at Southampton, they submitted to the municipal authorities a request for several privileges,[11] but the city balked on some of the economic stipulations, and only after extended negotiations was a settlement reached. The reason for the reluctance of the officials of Southampton in granting privileges is readily understood if the policy that formerly prevailed with regard to aliens in this port is taken into consideration. By a charter of incorporation of 23 Henry VI aliens were prohibited purchase from or sale to other aliens.[12] Ordinances for the town of Southampton established under King Henry VII provided for close restriction of economic activity by aliens. They were forbidden

9 At this point a little should be said about the troubles that plagued the Glastonbury refugees, since these troubles arose as a direct result of the circumstances under which they were settled. Although the Duke had promised them the facilities and funds for the exercise of their trade of weaving, the arrangements did not come to fruition. The Walloons ran into debt, and were forced to pawn the cloths they had already made. Worse still, Cornish by some means obtained control of these goods, and used this control to the disadvantage of the strangers. The common land that had been granted to their use was taken from them, and the dire situation was only aggravated by the fall of Somerset. When affairs became really serious, they appealed to Cecil and the Privy Council, which took the matter under consideration, with the result that an investigation was made that, although it left Cornish still secure in his office, relieved the exiles of their burden of debt and provided common land for their use and some thirty-six houses for their shelter. (*Acts of the Privy Council*, IV (1552-54), 180, Nov. 29, 1552). In these negotiations Poullain was very active, and spent much time travelling between Glastonbury and London. The main source for these conflicts is Strype, *Thomas Cranmer*, 346 ff. Some authors have used him without acknowledgment.

10 The text is to be found in William Boys, *Collection for an History of Sandwich in Kent* (Canterbury, 1892, i.e., 1792), App. G, 740-47; Dorman, *Notes*, 207 f.; R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (eds.), *Tudor Economic Documents* (London, 1924, 3 vols.), I, 297.

11 See above, 13, and n. 32, for a summary of these points. Fuller abstract in *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, Eliz., Addenda, XIII (1566-79), 31, No. 80. Cf. also *ibid.*, XLIII (1547-80), 294, No. 16, Bishop Horn to Cecil, June 30; XLIV, 299, No. 8, Horn to Cecil, Sept. 19; Addenda, XIII (1566-79), 32, No. 82, Answer to petition by Southampton, May, 1567. A good summary of the various negotiations may be found in Schickler, I, 323-327.

12 J. Sylvester Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton, 1883), 155. Other English cities, of course, had similar restrictive laws.

to employ servants other than natives, were subject to the custom and practice of hostage, and the sale by anyone of products made by them was strictly prohibited.[13] Not lightly could these statutes and laws be ignored. For this reason the final determination of the status of refugees in Southampton rested with the royal government.

An example of the application of these principles for regulation of refugees to a seaport town where fishing was the chief activity is seen in the case of Great Yarmouth. Here the most interesting feature of the settlement is the privilege of fishing.[14] After reciting the petition submitted by the exiles, and noting the quiet and godly life pursued by them, the document gave permission to a certain number to settle there and granted certain privileges guarding their fishing rights.[15] All in all the lot of the strangers in the small fishing port was by no means unhappy. Interesting details differentiate the terms under which aliens at Canterbury and Colchester and other smaller communities were received, but nothing of importance sets them apart. The Dutch Bay Hall at Colchester became very famous, and its merchants very wealthy.

It is worth while to describe the establishment of foreign weavers in Scotland. The first move came when the city of Edinburgh decided to offer refuge to strangers: the Burgh Records contain, under the date May 11, 1586, an entry "Anent the Fraynch Kirk to come to this burgh," in which refugees were guaranteed a temple for worship, lodging for the minister, freedom for the exercise of their trades, and any other privi-

13 Moens, *Walloon Settlements . . . at Southampton*, 57.

14 June 8, 1568. The text is in Swinden, *Great Yarmouth*, 942-46.

15 *Ibid.*, 945: It was granted that the refugees, "practising and using of the said feat and art of fishing, and other occupations, which are not at this time used in the said town, may lawfully and safely inhabit within the said town of Great Yarmouth, and from thence the fishermen to depart to the seas in their own boats and vessels, or in the boats and vessels of any other, and to exercise the said fishing; and the fish so to be taken by them, or any of them, to utter and sell from time to time, at the said town, or else where alongst our coast, for their most commodity, or transport the same into foreign parts, being with us in league or amity, in their own vessels, or any other; and also that they may lawfully prepare, pack, and brand the herrings so taken by them, after the manner of the said low countries, being not against the laws of this our realm."

leges that might benefit the exiles without injuring the town.[16] The next year Parliament took cognizance of the situation by passing an "Act in favour of the craftismen flemȳgis," in which three strangers were given permission to settle in Edinburgh, bringing with them thirty workmen, on condition that they would instruct the youth of Scotland in the art of weaving.[17]

In looking over the various letters patent and licenses by which refugee groups obtained legal rights in England, their similarities are noteworthy, as well as their differences. In all cases freedom of worship was guaranteed as a fundamental right, and in most instances provision was made for a place for services. The numbers permitted to enjoy the privileges were, except in London, limited by the documents themselves. The similarities are so striking, in fact, that the letters granted to the Norwich group may be taken as typical, and those conferred upon the refugees at Sandwich actually served as a model for later communities. This uniformity is due, of course, to the fact that in England an effective central government took a direct interest in the exiles, and arranged that their conditions of life should be generally the same throughout the realm.

Interesting as the similarities are, however, even more striking are the differences. First of all, it must be noted that the earliest of the charters, that of London, does not deal with the economic privileges of the community at all. No other document of the same kind in the sixteenth century slights this feature; in most of them indeed it is the pre-dominating concern. The reason for this lies probably in the fact that, when the London church was organized into a formal congregation in 1550, most of the refugees were already on the scene and engaged in

16 Hallen, "Huguenots in Scotland," 170: "First, thay desyre of the guid towne ane tempill sufficientlie to be provydet and put in decent ordour. Secondlie, ane ludgein for the ministeris provydet freclie with fyve chalmeris, als neir the kirk as it may be gottin, and helpit with sum movebills after the guid townis discretionn. Thirdlie, that the said Fraynche strayngeris may huif ane testimoniall of my lord provest, bayleis, counsall and dey kins, to be welcum and visit freyndlie to do thair honest besynes and exerceis thair particulare craftis without impediment as thair awin frie burgessis. Last, gif any uther thing be thocht necessar or expedient that sall nocht be preiudiciall to the towne that may serve the said strayngeris, without the guhilk thai can nocht be commdet, that of the townis guid will thai may be helpit."

17 *Acta Parliamentorum*, Jacobi VI, c. 119; Hallen, "Huguenots in Scotland," 177-181.

crafts and trades. The probability that they were already partially adjusted and adapted to the native industrial organization would obviate the necessity of making formal arrangements in the license. The London charter manifests a prime concern for the establishment of a religious community of strangers who have fled to England for conscience' sake.[18] The others seem to have as first motive the settlement of a group of refugees who will be of economic benefit to the general community, while religious freedom is stipulated—it is one reason, at least—as an added inducement intended to attract refugees. So completely different in spirit is the London patent that it must also be considered as completely different in intent. Further discussion of this extremely important point will be found in the concluding chapter of this book.

Other differences may be perceived. Superintendents were provided for the London and Glastonbury communities, not for the others, while the London church alone was made a *corpus corporatum et politicum,* acquiring thereby special legal status. Glastonbury was a more or less private venture of the Duke of Somerset, undertaken at his own responsibility and largely dependent on his interest for its continued success. Other centers, of course, had their special patrons, as, for example, the Duke of Norfolk for Norwich and the Earl of Leicester for Colchester. At Southampton special difficulty was encountered over the question of permission for refugees to hire workers ("servants"), and only the intervention of Cecil made possible a compromise. Southampton also made strict regulations about trades that were already followed by natives, such as baking and shoe manufacturing. On the other hand, the refugees at this port and at Canterbury were granted the unusual privilege of equality of taxation with the natives, while those in Scotland enjoyed exemption for a stated period. In contrast to Southampton the Sandwich patent permitted as many servants to be taken as were desirable. Thus it is clear that, although the general form of the charters was similar, notable and significant variations occurred in the separate grants of privilege.

18 This interest is clearly exemplified in the writings of à Lasco and others, and by the language of the patent itself. See below, chap. viii, 175 ff.

2. The Return Under Elizabeth

When Mary Tudor became Queen of England, of course, the position of Protestant strangers was made perilous. The way in which political restrictions, step by step, forced them to leave the country has already been described. Those who remained for any time at all found themselves ringed around with all manner of opposition and obstruction. It is little wonder that few Protestant aliens survived the Marian period of English history.

It might be expected that the return of Protestantism that accompanied the accession of Elizabeth would bring also the return of refugees to their former privileges. This was not exactly the case. Return they did, but not to their former grants of rights. It is especially noticeable in the case of London, for here alone may the Marian period be considered as only a hiatus in an otherwise continuous history of a single colony. The refugees were disappointed and not a little surprised at the reception given them, notwithstanding the laudatory paeans with which they hailed the new Queen and the expression of gratitude with which they gave thanks for this haven, safe again. The church was no longer a *corpus corporatum et politicum,* and their building was not returned to them but to the Bishop of London (Grindal), who gave to them the use of it.[19]

This new state of affairs brings up the question of the citizenship of the refugees. It may be elucidated by reference briefly to three points: naturalization, apprenticeship, and hostage, the latter two being aspects of the industrial policy of the Tudors. Letters of denization, so-called, were grants from the Crown of right of residence together with certain limited privileges. They were not retroactive and were valid only from the date of issuance. One could not inherit land by virtue of them, nor did they confer benefits on children born before the date of the grant.[20] Acts of naturalization were more complete in the status they conferred. These were not grants by the Crown but acts of Parliament that gave to their possessor equal rights with

19 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken,* 136.

20 The material on naturalization and denization is taken largely from William Page (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603* (HSL*Pubs.*, VIII (1893), iv, ff).

native Englishmen, including right of inheritance. Not very many refugees obtained or even sought for full naturalization, being content for the most part with simple papers of denization. And of course many were not even denizens.[21] One factor that contributed to the failure of many exiles to seek citizenship was the expectation, or at least the hope, that their stay in England would be more or less temporary. On the other hand, a large proportion of them took the position that their exile was to be permanent, and were prevented from acquiring naturalization only by the policy of the government, or possibly by the absence in refugee circles of sufficient *douceur* to smooth the way for admission.

A discussion at this point of the industrial policy of the Tudors is inadvisable; but it is important for the understanding of the attitude of the government toward the status of the refugees that two aspects of that policy be mentioned. The regulation of the position of apprentices was one of the main problems confronting sixteenth-century England, and the statutes dealing with it are so important that they take on political as well as economic significance, and thus affect the legal status of aliens. The "industrious long lawe," the Statute of Apprentices of the year 1563, was designed to regulate wages and prices and to enforce the requirement of an apprenticeship of seven years for any trade. Attempts were made to stop any new tendencies such as the migration of industry to the country, but little success attended the efforts. Tudor industrial policy, in fact, came directly into conflict with the economic movements that the refugees were assisting to advance.[22] Laws of King Henry VIII on the taking of apprentices by aliens had strictly forbidden, then generally limited, that right, and Elizabethan laws had forbidden natives to take aliens as apprentices. Refugees, be they denizens or citizens, found themselves subject to the paternalistic supervision for which the Tudors were noted —and it was especially noticeable and especially irritating with

21 It is interesting to note that the same situation prevailed on the Continent. For example, at Wesel a distinction was made between the *Vollbürger* and the *Halbbürger*, the former possessing, besides the general privileges of residence, the rights of participation in elections, and *Zollfreiheit*. The same thing obtained in other centers in Germany and Switzerland. Cf. Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung der niederländischen Religionsflüchtlinge in 16. Jahrhundert in Wesel*, 22.

22 On industrial policy see John U. Nef, *Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640* (Philadelphia, 1940). See below, 72 ff.

regard to apprenticeship, as those master craftsmen from the Continent could testify who had been instructed to undergo anew a seven years' training, perhaps under a native who knew far less about his trade than did they. This situation, of course, would be exceptional.

One aspect of governmental regulation will help to clarify the status of refugees in England—the custom of hostage. Exiles from the Low Countries and Flanders, especially those of the merchant class, found it extremely annoying to be required to lodge with native "hosts" who were designated without reference to their desires and who controlled their economic transactions to such an extent that they could collect a fee for every purchase or sale made by the alien under their individual supervision.[23] A tremendous clamor of opposition arose from the refugees and other aliens in England, who declared that hostage was a "thing neither the Jewes nor Turks do at any time offer to the Christians, nor the Christians offer to the Turks, or to any other nation, be they never so barbarous."[24] At Norwich

23 Cf. Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 228. The law was very old, being in force in the twelfth century (Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I, 527). Edward I established it in 1285, and it was reestablished under Henry VI in 1441. In the days of Elizabeth there was no reason for continuing the law, but the sanctity of antiquity supported its application against the refugees, who shouted with one accord against it. On May 10, 1576, William Tipper persuaded the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to ask the Queen for a grant of hostage of merchant aliens according to the ancient laws, with the fee of two pence on the pound for all goods bought and sold by aliens in England. Not only refugees themselves, but also many natives, like Sir Thomas Smythe, objected to this proposal. Appeals were made to the trade treaties between England and the Low Countries concluded in 1445, and to the agreement of 1564 between the Queen and the Duchess of Parma; but all were brushed aside in the face of the claims made on the basis of the obsolescent statute of hostage. The letters were granted June 24, 1576 (Moens, *Walloon Church at Norwich*, 39). Enforced at first in London against prominent merchants named Emanuel Demetrius, Martin de la Faille, and John van den Beck, all of whom were ordered to resort to their hosts, as appointed by Tipper, a great wave of opposition rose. Their business, they declared, was circumscribed, and they could not obtain any money for export of their goods. Tipper replied that they were selfish and maintained agents at London, Bristol, Exeter, Southampton, Newcastle, Hull, Norwich, Ipswich, and Colchester, who sold goods at the highest prices. A respite of three weeks was granted them in 1578, and during this time an appeal to the Archduke Mathias resulted in the abolishment of the oversight of aliens' business and the fee of 2 pence (Moens, *Walloon Church*, 40). The right of hosting, however, was continued, and Tipper maintained his privilege for the stipulated time of twenty-one years over aliens with the exception of Italian merchants and the Steelyard. Tipper apparently was the front for Sir Christopher Hatton, who was Captain of the Queen's Guard and member of the Privy Council.

24 In appeal to Archduke Mathias, quoted in Moens, *Walloon Church at Norwich*, 40.

the law of hostage came into conflict with the refugees proper, as distinguished from ordinary aliens, more directly than elsewhere. Here only the interference of the municipal authorities saved the exiles from the law.

From the brief examination of these several instances of the attitude and policy of the Tudor government toward aliens in general and refugees in particular, it is clear that in no respect were strangers free from regulation and supervision. Special privileges were generously granted in their charters, but much remained untouched by these documents.

3. Taxes and Duties

In the matter of taxation the refugees did not escape the attention of a government that was not minded to let pass an opportunity to increase its revenues by whatever means it found at hand. It was customary for aliens in the sixteenth century to pay double the rate levied on natives. This rate was determined by the system of taxation and subsidy that had had its origin in the reign of King Edward III, who in 1334 revised the revenue system of the kingdom.[25] When fifteenths and tenths were levied, aliens paid as did the natives. They were subject as well to the more recently devised subsidy. When, in 1598, natives paid 2 *s.* 6*d.* on the pound on movable goods, aliens paid 5*s.* 4*d.*; and on land they paid not 4*s.* but 8*s.* in addition to the general poll tax of 8*d.* for those who did not possess enough taxable

25 This revised system was based on the "fifteenths" and "tenths," which by the sixteenth century had become a symbol for a definite sum of money, whereas originally they referred to apportionment among the various contributary cities of the Realm. In 1334 the sum collected was between £38,000 and £39,000, and henceforth a fifteenth and a tenth became almost a fiscal expression for £39,000. "A fractional grant of a fifteenth or tenth of a man's movables ceased to bear any relation to his actual resources, but implied a definite sum of money levied upon the localities in fixed and unvarying proportions." (Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 606). If more than £39,000 was wanted, Parliament would vote several fifteenth and tenths. The system continued till the period dealt with in this book, although alterations were made from time to time, and exceptions were made for towns that had much decayed. But in the Tudor period, alongside this older system grew another: that of subsidies. In 1514 a general subsidy of 6d. on the pound was granted, and soon the practice became common. A "full" subsidy was 4*s.* on the pound on lands and 2*s.* 8*d.* on goods. Like the fifteenth and tenths, however, the subsidy became standardized, with the result that by the end of the century appraisals had become so far underestimated that in 1597 a full subsidy yielded only £80,000. Thus the subsidy became a fiscal expression for £80,000 (Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 607).

property.[26] The rates paid by the refugees become clear if a glance is taken at the lay subsidies reports that contain names of aliens.[27]

Other taxes were levied either regularly, as the parish duties, or irregularly, as "loom money" at Canterbury. This latter is first mentioned in 1582 in connection with the refugees in that place: "Rec. of the Strangers for & in consideracõn of the vse of 390 loomes for one d^e^ yere endyd at michaelmas A^o^ 23 Eliz. r^ne^ . . . iiij^li^ xvij^s^ vj^d^."[28] This tax was levied therefore at the rate of 3*d.* per loom. But the figure for the next year was different, and the revenue was quite irregular. Duties on products manufactured by refugees varied according to the locality, but in general charges were lowered when the exiles brought in the manufacture of products that had formerly been made on the Continent and imported into England. Indeed, this was made the basis for charging duties on cloth made by foreigners whether it was exported or sold on the home market. For, said Sir Giles Gerrard in support of the proposal, the Queen had lost revenues that had formerly been collected on materials imported into the country but now manufactured at home.[29] It was decided to charge 4*d.* per cloth on all drapery made within the realm. Thus the refugees could obtain wool more cheaply, since import duties had been lowered; but a tax was paid on manufacture and sale whether in the country or abroad. Certain of the new draperies, at least in London, had been exported duty free before 1594. But in that year it was decided to charge duty "on all the new draperies, as French serges, worsteds, fustians, blankets, &c., made in England, chiefly by Strangers, which have hitherto been exported free."[30] On the other hand exemptions were sometimes granted to the refugees: In 1584 a license was given to some merchants, both English and alien, who had imported goods and paid the required duties, to reexport them without paying duties again.[31]

26 Schlickler, *Les églises*, I, 256, n. 1.

27 See, for example, those printed in Moens, *Walloon Church at Norwich*, 160 ff., App. I; and *Register of Baptisms in the Dutch Church at Colchester*, 110 ff. (HSL*Pubs.*, XII [1905]).

28 Cross, *Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury*, 187.

29 Cunningham, *Alien Immigration*, 159.

30 Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, I, 145, quoting *State Papers Domestic*, 1591-94, 523.

31 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 737-742, No. 892: License to sundry merchants, Feb. 24, 1583 [Mar. 5, 1584].

Besides the ordinary taxes, however, refugees were subject to numerous extraordinary levies of great variety. It may be helpful by way of example to list some of the levies that were paid by the refugees of Canterbury between the years 1577 and 1600:

1577	Cost of scouring the city dyke	£	2	
1578	Charge for the musters		5	
1580	Musters		5	
1580	Repairing West Gate		14	19*s.* 8*d.*
1585	Powder and shot		5	12
1591	Charge for soldiers		10	
1592	Equipping four armed men		5	12
1592	Watch money		12	11 8
1594	Equipping men		3	
1596	Powder and shot		10	
1597	Musters		10	
1599	Watch money		11	8

This list contains for the most part levies made for military purposes; but these were by no means the only excuses for making financial demands on the refugees in England.[32] When England was alarmed at the possibility of a Spanish invasion, numerous requests were made to repel an armada. London and Norwich refugees furnished men, as did also Canterbury. But even more help was sought and obtained in the form of money for equipping soldiers. In 1587 and 1588 more than one loan was made for this purpose.[33] When the Great Armada had finally made its ill-fated attempt to invade the land of the British Isles and had been well-nigh destroyed by the British fleet, aided by the elements, the refugees, having participated in defense of the country that had received and welcomed them as exiles, could then share with the English people the sense of relief when

> Night sank upon the dusky beach and on the purple sea;
> Such night in England ne'er had been nor e'er again shall be.[34]

Such night was again to be, but it was not suspected by the refu-

32 Cross, *History of . . . Canterbury*, 33; see also lists in Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 818-19, No. 233 (1586); *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, Eliz., CCLXXV, 143; CCLXXVIII, 124; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 273 (App.).

33 Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 826-27, No. 236, Privy Council to the Elders of the London Dutch Church, Mar. 24, 1587 (O.S.); and III, 888-89, No. 1142, List of contributors to a company of soldiers, Feb. 25 [Mar. 7], 1589. Cf. Burn, 11; Charles A. Rahlenbeck, "Quelques notes sur les reformés flamands et Wallons du XVIe siècle réfugiés en Augleterre," HSL*Proc.*, IV (1891-93), 32.

34 Quoted in Robert A. McCall, "The Huguenots in Kent," HSL*Proc.*, XIII (1923-29), 25.

gees who in Southampton returned grace for the defeat of the Armada.

A curious levy was one for the support of some Flemish prisoners who had been placed under the charge of Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. He had received from the Privy Council an order to see that the "Flusshingers" be supported from funds collected from the refugee groups of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Sandwich in particular.[35]

Not always, however, did the exiles meekly acquiesce in the demands made upon them. More than once they submitted a summary of the charges to which they were often subject, in petition against further levies. From Norwich came a "Noet of the matters that the straungers bothe of the Dutche and French congregacions in the cittie of Norwiche have been and are daylye charged withal," in which it was explained that (1) they paid for their own preachers and church besides the charges for the several parishes in which they lived; (2) every month they paid forty pounds to the poor of the Dutch church; (3) they lent money to Englishmen without interest; (4) they paid four hundred pounds to the city of Norwich for duties on cloth; (5) they paid this time from twelve to fourteen pounds rent whereas previously the charge had been but two pounds; (6) they paid three shillings for passports to the Continent besides what they paid at Yarmouth; and (7) five hundred pounds went to English people there for services in knitting and spinning wool.[36] The same community sought the aid of the London Dutch Church in obtaining redress against a person who, acting under a statute that required payment of 6*s.* 8*d.* to the Queen for all ministers within the jurisdiction of Canterbury and York having an income of over eight pounds yearly, was molesting them and had had their services stopped for a while.[37] Not only at Norwich but also at Canterbury was there

35 Sandwich was one of the ancient Cinque Ports, and thus under the control of the Lord Warden, who exercised a sort of general supervision over the southern coastal regions. See Katherine M. E. Murray, *Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester, 1935, Historical Series, No. 68), 208, 209, *et passim.* Many of the instructions of the Privy Council were sent for execution to the Lord Warden. This order is in *Acts of the Privy Council,* IX (1575-77), 191, meeting of Aug. 19, 1576.

36 Moens, *Norwich,* App. XXI, 264.

37 Hessels, *Archivum,* III, 932-34, No. 1232, Norwich Dutch Church to London Dutch Church, Feb. 10 [20], 1592. Further correspondence on the subject indicates that a successful conclusion was obtained by the exiles (see Nos. 1235, 1238, 1239).

opposition from the refugees to what they considered unwarranted levies. They petitioned the Privy Council against some municipal taxes, whereupon the Council wrote to the officials at Canterbury enclosing the petition and admonishing them to go easy on their guests.[38] Some of these petitions were attended with success, as has been seen. The Privy Council went so far in 1578 as to write to the Lord Mayor that he should exempt strangers from "the trayning of Shotte within the Cittie of London, . . . forasmuche as the moste part of the not naturallized are of the Low Countryes [and] are in this troublesome tyme, besides their house keping, greatly charged for the presente warres there."[39]

4. Conflict and Harmony

Trouble over taxation was not the only point around which dissension developed between the refugees and the government. In many cases the royal government acted as mediator between the local authorities and the exiles who resided within their jurisdiction.[40] In other cases the municipal authorities and the royal administration would be more directly opposed to one another. A conflict between the Norwich magistrates and the refugees there was peremptorily settled by the intervention of the Privy Council, which ordered the city to cease molesting the exiles, and ordered the latter to accept the decision and "nott to repyne."[41]

There were some occasions, however, when opposition arose not between the refugees and the municipal authorities but between them and the royal government. Political circumstances usually lay behind those difficulties. A rather surprising result of the episode of the Great Armada was the development of a reaction against aliens. The English found it difficult to distinguish between alien refugee and enemy alien.[42] The bills introduced in Parliament restricting the activity of aliens was a

38 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XII (1580-81), 73-74, June 27, 1580: Letter to Sir James Hales, et al.: ". . . use some good moderacion towardes them both in the contribucion now said to be levyinge for the buildinge of the West Gate and pece of the wall fallen, as also in other like taxes and impositions. . . ."

39 *Acts of the Privy Council*, IX (1575-77), 252, June 13, 1578.

40 For example, the warning sent to the Mayor of Canterbury in 1575 against molesting the refugees. *Acts of the Privy Council*, IX (1575-77), 42, Nov. 2, 1575.

41 Moens, *Norwich*, 23.

42 Cf. the present (1942) situation in England and the United States, referred to in the Introduction.

part of this reaction. Another source of conflict lay in the question of help to the Prince of Orange. Queen Elizabeth was far from supporting King Philip II in his attempts to subjugate the Low Countries; but she by no means felt obliged to throw the whole weight of England's power behind the Prince. More than once contention developed over questions of navigation rights. For many years Orange requested assistance financial and material from the refugee communities of England.[43] Thus conflict between the refugees and the government could and did develop over this political question.

On the other hand the general character of the relations was quiet and orderly. In the affair of aid to the forces fighting for independence in the Low Countries the English did give much substantial aid in money and men, and were supported in this by the Queen. The sense of sympathy and mutual responsibility for the fate of their homeland felt by the exiles from the Netherlands is shown by the order for a public fast in Southampton's colony:

lan 1572, le 25e Jor de setembre, fut Celebré ung Jeusne publicq. la Raison estoit por Ce *que* Monsieur le prince dorenge estoit Reueu Au paiis bas, avec Nouvelle Armee dalemaigne por asaier A delivrer le paiis et les poures eglises lors de la main du duc dalbe, Ce Cruel tiran, et Ausi principallement por Ce *que* les eglises de la france estoient en Vne Meruilleuse et Horible Calamité extreme.[44]

And that the refugees appreciated the relatively generous treatment accorded them by the English government is demonstrated by the expression of thanks to the Queen upon the occasion of her visit to the same town in 1591:

Le 4e de Septembre, 1591. La Serenissime Elizabeth, Roine d'Angleterre, vint à Hamptonne auec toute sa court, quj estoit bien grande, et en partit le 7e dudit mois enuiron le Midi. et comme elle partoit et estoit hors de la ville, n'ayans peu auoir acces vers sa Majesté en la ville, la remerciasmes de ce que passez vingt quatre ans auions esté maintenus en ceste ville, sous sa Protection, et par sa clemence benigne, apres Dieu di-je, en toute tranquillité et repos. Elle respondit fort humainement, louant Dieu de ce qu'il luy donnoit puissance de recueillir et faire bien aux poures estrangers, et disant qu'elle scauoit bien que les prieres desdits seruoyent beaucoup à sa Conseruation.[45]

43 Many letters in the records of the London Dutch Church testify to the zeal with which the Prince pled his cause. Some of these may be found in Hessels, *Archivum*, II, Nos. 87, 112, 113, 114, 115, 118, 119, 123, 125, 126, 129, 132, 140; III, Nos. 197, 933, 936, 938. The last three are receipts for sums collected for the "cause commun" and the "gemeine saeke" in the Netherlands.

44 Godfray, *Registre*, 125,. quoting the records called *Les Jeusnes Publicques* of Southampton.

45 *Ibid.*, 129.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND: TRADES AND MEANS OF SUPPORT

From combed wool we draw this slender thread,
From thence the looms have dealing with the same,
And thence again, in order to proceed,
These several works, which skilful art doth frame:
And all to drive Need into her cave,
Our heads and hands together laboured have.

We brought before, the things that now we sell,
These slender imps, their works do pass the waves,
God's peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,
Of every month the hands the charges saves.
Thus thro' thy help, and aid of power divine,
Doth Norwich live, whose hearts and goods are thine.

Verses said to the Queen during the artizans strangers' pageant, Norwich, 1578

1. Trades

That refugees who fled from such regions as Flanders and Hainault and Brabant should have brought with them a knowledge of crafts new and "outlandish" to most Englishmen is not surprising. Cloth workers from Antwerp and Bruges, lacemakers from Valenciennes, cambric-weavers from Cambrai, glassmakers from Paris, merchants from Rouen, and fishermen from Flushing—all these crowded into England, bringing with them at least their priceless craftsmanship, even if all their material possessions had been confiscated by the Spanish overlords. The question now arises: what did they do with this ability in their new home? In how many different ways did they find expression for their talents? To what fields of activity did they devote their greatest attention? How did they live?

In the city of London, where there were more refugees than anywhere else, there was scarcely a trade that was not represented by some strangers. A study of the rich material in R. E. G. Kirk and E. F. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens,* presents a bewildering variety of economic activity.[1] One may summarize this information under several general types of occupation:[2]

1 HSL*Pubs.*, X, in 4 vols. A convenient digest of the returns has been made by Irene Scouloudi, "Alien Immigration into and Alien Communities in London, 1558-1640," HSL*Proc.*, XVI (1938), 27-50.

2 The percentages have been worked out only to the accuracy of one per cent, and are based on the statistics in Scouloudi.

	1568	1583	1635
Clothing trades	19%	15%	6%
Trade and transport	18	20	10
Textile trades	15	18	62
Leather trades	11	6	3
Fine and non-manual trades	10	9	9
Metal and similar trades	8	14	4
Food and victual trades	7	8	2
Woodworking trades	7	7	1
Miscellaneous trades	5	3	3
	100%	100%	100%

Several interesting features are immediately discernible. The clothing, textile, and mercantile occupations are more important than the others. In the return of 1568 there were more aliens in the clothing trades than in any other; but in 1583 the merchants had forged ahead; while in 1635 the textile group were far in advance. This development was well under way before the end of the century. The returns for 1568 and 1583 may be compared favorably with one another, the only significant changes being the decline of the leather and the increase of the metallurgical occupations. The table does not show some of the most important developments, such as the introduction of silk-weaving and the revolutionary changes that transformation brought to the Weavers' Company. But it does give a rough idea of the types of activity in which the refugees engaged when they came to England.[3]

The second largest center of refugee life in England was Norwich. Here again it will be noticed that the clothing, textile, and mercantile occupations comprised the larger part of the group, as well the Walloons as the Dutch. The great variety of textiles made there is indicated by the list of products of the looms made there in 1611:

. . . sundry cloathes and stuffes called Bussins Mockadoes valures all of lynen valures lynen and cruell carletts damaske sayes of dry cruell after the fashion Lile Ameens and Mouy dry grograynes dubble mackadoes Ollyets, bumbasins of silke and sciet silke burrato bumbasins al's Rafy with the ground of lynen, silke saies tuft taffety all silke striped sayes broad lyles Spannish sattins crosse billetts of silke and sciet fustinado ffustin of lynen and cotton filizelis of cruell serdge de boice of cruell silke filizelis silk serdge de boice, silke say striped Tobines silke tufted and striped great waled sat-

3 Detailed statistics for all countries may be found scattered through various publications referred to below.

tins Catalownes trepodelis tufted bussins Catalownes saies striped and plaine serdge de boice in Catalonne ffguratoes brato pearled and striped tufted sayes and such like of new devise. . . .[4]

One of the most interesting sources of information on the economic life of the refugees is to be found in the letters sent by exiles in Norwich to friends in Ypres in the sixties and seventies.[5] One man wrote to his wife in the Netherlands about plans for their reunion in England, and emphasized the importance of the trade of bay-making in Norwich, where people "did little else."[6] This was a slight exaggeration, of course, because there were many other trades in which a large number of strangers took part. As one refugee wrote to his grandmother in Ypres, he had learned bookbinding, but found that that business brought too little profit, and had therefore taken up "another trade" (probably weaving). His elder sister worked in a brewery of one Pieter Bake, his brother was learning the trade of a cutler, his father was a thread-twister, his mother did her *"oude"* work, his younger sister spun thread, Frances played all day, and "Gaeige" died in the fourth week after Whitsunday.[7] More will be said about these sundry trades below.

It will be perceived immediately from a glance at the trades

4 Moens, *Norwich*, App., 248, No. XII, A Certificate from the Mayor and Justices, Dec. 10, 1611.

5 These letters are summarized or printed *in extenso* in H. Q. Janssen, "De hervormde Vlugtelingen van Ypern in Engeland," *Bijdragan tot de Oudheidkunde en Geschiedenis, inzonderheid van Zeeuwsch-Vlaanderen*, II (1857), 211-304. Very brief notes on these are in Moens, *Norwich*, App., 220-24.

6 Janssen, "Vlugtelingen," 231, No. 57; He says there is good business "in de baey, eñ ic zal zien om een huus, al zo haest als ic mach, om ons in die neringe te behelpen; want daermede den cost te wel te winnen es. Ic gaen doen maken een baey ghewant teghen uwe comste. . . . Brinct mede al u cleerē eñ u dochters cleerē; want men daer wel habbelicke gaet. . . . U zuster laet u weten, dat Lein niet en cōmē ō zijn ambacht te doene; want men daer niet en doet dan baeywerken. . . ."

7 *Ibid.*, 273, No. 28: He describes "hoe dat wy tot Norewijs letter min dan twee jaren gheweest hebben, alwaer wy zijn wonende in groete gerusticheyt ende stillecheyt ende het woordt Gods zeer rijckelic met ons, sodat ic ende mijn vadere ende mijn moedere wel wenschen zouden, waert uwer beliefte, by ons te wesende. . . . Zoo latic ulieder weten, dat ic Gilles Navegheer fraey ende ghesont ben; ende weet, hoe dat ic meer dan anderhaelf jaer hebbe leeren boekbinden, soo dattet my te cleene profyte comt. . . , en hoe dat ic in 96 [69, *i.e.*, 1569] een andere ambocht ter hant ghenomen hebbe, daer of dat ic beter profyt hebben zal, hopic. Voers zoo weet, dat mijn meeste sustere, Maeyken Navegheer, [is] tot een Pieter Bake van Ypre, die tot Norewijs die brarie [brouwerij] hout: daer dienscе. Ende weet noch meer, hoe dat mijn vadere die draeyt gharentwijndres muelene. . . ; ende mijn moedere die doet haer oude werck; ende mijn sustere, clee Maeyken, die spoelt gharene alset heeft; ende Sinken [Frances] die spielt daghelick; ende Gaeige is met den Heere int jaer 96 [69] in de vierde weke achter Schienschen [Sinxen, after Pinkster (Whitsunday)]."

the Colchester refugees engaged in that here again the textile occupations predominated. Most of the refugees worked at making "bay and say," "perpetuans," "frizeado," "mochado," "shaloon," "grograine," "serge," and so forth.[8] The town became the chief locality for making bays and says in all England, and the Dutch Bay Hall was the most outstanding institution in the community.[9]

Textile products of wool were made in other refugee centers in England, as, for example, the serges of Canterbury, although this town was better known for its silk taffeta and bombazine.[10] Dover also had a considerable number of weavers of wool.[11] Most of those who went from London to Stamford were weavers.[12] At Rye, Yarmouth, and King's Lynn there were not so many of this trade. The refugees invited to Edinburgh, on the other hand, were brought for the purpose of improving the textile manufacturing of the city, were therefore mainly weavers of wool.

The term "weavers" does not tell the whole story of the production of wool in the early modern period. There were wool-combers and carders, spinners and dyers.[13] There is the story of the young man who came with three other youths from Ypres to England seeking trades which they might pursue with the aid of the refugee community at Sandwich. The consistory of the Sandwich church wrote to London about him, remarking that it disapproved of the young man's intention of learning wool-combing because wool-combing was a dirty work and

8 Courtauld, "East Anglia," 134.

9 Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the Most Ancient Town and Borough of Colchester in the County of Essex* (London, 1748), 50, 71, 72-73, has much to say on the bay and say products of the Colchester refugees: "In 1571, the Dutch and Flemings first came and settled in Colchester, and brought with them the most valuable Trade of Bay and Say making, as I shall shew under Chap. IV. § I. of this Book." In that chapter he goes into considerable detail about the methods of search and seal employed in the Bay Hall. Cf. H. Laver, "A Sketch of the Early History of Colchester," HSL*Proc.*, IV, (1891-93), 49-50, and Moens, *Register of Baptisms at Colchester*, HSL*Pubs.*, XII (1905), ii.

10 Cross, *History*, 183, 184.

11 Overend, "Strangers at Dover," 159-62.

12 Strype, *Matthew Parker*, II, 149.

13 A short description of the various processes employed in making woolen products is given by Frances Consitt in her *The London Weavers' Company*, ix-xi, which in turn is a condensation of the fuller statement given in Lipson, *Woollen and Worsted Industries*, 128-142.

might discourage him.[14] Nevertheless, wool-combing was an indispensible process in the preparation of many kinds of cloth, and there was scarcely a community without its wool-combers. Along with the weavers who came to Scotland in 1588 the ship "brocht hame the Flemyng Wobsters, Walkers, Wevers and Litsters."[15] At Norwich there were, among the Walloons, two cloth shearers, one dyer of blue cloth, eight fringe-makers, two fullers, four say-makers, two "spinsters,"[16] nine weavers, nineteen wool-combers, and one who was both weaver and wool-comber, besides the drapers and tailors and cloth merchants. Among the Dutch in the same town there were four dyers, ten fullers, fifteen "spinsters," fifty-three weavers, and one hundred fifty-four wool-combers, in addition to the merchants.

But wool cloth was not the only textile manufactured by the exiles. Indeed, the introduction of silk was perhaps more significant than the advance in processing wool. In 1551 the Weavers' Company of London issued "the rate of Journeymen's wages being silk-weavers."[17] This is the first mention of silk-weaving by members of that famous company. By the year 1577 this new industry had become exceedingly important, a development owing largely to the refugee influence.[18] A colony of silk-weavers was early formed in Cripplegate Without, and two Netherlanders, Anthony Emerick and John James by name, brought in the art of silk-twisting or throwing.[19] By the end of the century silk-weaving had revolutionized the staid old Weavers' Company. Canterbury was not behind London in the silk-weaving business as fostered by the refugees. There were few of these workers during the early years, and they were *"passamentierers"*; the first real silk manufacturing came in 1592, when some rash-makers came.[20] Reference to the tables of trades of refugees will show that many of the other centers possessed silk cloth makers.

14 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 455-56, No. 480, July 15, 1577.
15 Hallen, "Huguenots in Scotland," 169.
16 "Spinster" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* meant "spinner" (man or woman), came to mean unmarried woman in seventeenth century.
17 Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, I, 128.
18 *Ibid.*, 129.
19 Page, *Letters of Denization*, li. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, has the following notices about these men: X^1, 479; X^2, 229; X^2, 392; X^2, 81; all refer to their church membership.
20 Cross, *History*, 184 f.; Brent, *Canterbury*, 165; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 39.

A specialized form of textile manufacture was established at Maidstone; namely, the spinning of thread. This trade is first mentioned in 1568, when refugee cloth-workers were ordered to have their stuff sealed.[21] The thread made here was so closely connected with the strangers that it was called "Dutchwork."[22] Another special kind of textile work was the lace industry, which flourished among some of the communities, especially Barnstaple. It was the Walloons and Flemings settled in Devon in the time of Elizabeth who brought the art of lace-making to these parts.[23] It was also practiced in other groups: there were two at Dover and six at Sandwich; and one mother in the Low Countries sent her boy over to the London refugee community to learn the art.[24] Still another clothing trade was that of the hatmakers, a craft followed by numerous exiles.[25]

The prominence that the textile industry enjoyed among the refugee communities is shown by the pageants presented for the edification of the Queen when she passed through Sandwich in 1573 and Norwich in 1578. In both places the pageants were centered around the making of cloth, and made a considerable impression on the spectators.[26]

There were a very large number of leather workers among the exiles, both shoemakers and shoe-repairers (trades that were usually separated in sixteenth century times). Indeed, there were more aliens engaged in this form of activity than in any other: tanners, cordwainers, cobblers, shoemakers, saddlers.[27] They had their own gild, "The Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity of Straungers Courvysours," appointed by the Company of Cordwainers, one of London's great companies.

21 *Victoria County History, Kent,* III, 408. This colony at Maidstone was the one that had so much financial difficulty in maintaining a continuous church organization. More will be said on this point in the proper place.

22 *Ibid.,* 408; Hasted, *History of Kent,* IV, 267: "The only remembrance of these Walloons now left is the term which the common people give to the flax spun for the threadmen, which at this day they call *Dutch work.*"

23 Charles E. Lart, "The Huguenot Settlements and Churches in the West of England," HSL*Proc.,* VII (1901-04), 287.

24 Hessels, *Archivum,* III, 358, No. 370, Bartholdus Wilhelmi from Dordrecht to the London Dutch Church, Dec. 9, 1575.

25 Burn, *Protestant Refugees,* 257.

26 Schickler, *Les églises,* I, 307. See verses at head of this Chapter.

27 Page, *Letters of Denization,* xlvii.

As to the metallurgical trades, the most significant occupation of the refugees in this field was that of work in gold and silver. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth there were one hundred fifty Dutch, German, and Flemish smiths working in the precious metals. Not all of these were religious refugees, but a large number of them expressly gave religion as the reason for their coming to England. Besides these about fifty precious stone cutters and about twenty jewelers came from the Low Countries. During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I there arrived some sixty-three French (mostly Walloon) goldsmiths in London, and also one cutter of pearls, four diamond cutters and five jewelers.[28]

It is difficult in the case of some of the occupations to make a distinction between the activity of religious refugees and that of ordinary aliens. This is the case in glass and paper trades. Certainly the glass-maker Jean Carré was a refugee for religion from the Low Countries.[29] In 1567 he and another man petitioned Cecil for a license to set up a glassworks in London, for the purpose of making glass and drinking glasses similar to those made in Venice.[30] Dissension between Carré and his partners brought the work to a halt.[31] In 1588 one James (Jacob) Verselyne (Versaline), a Venetian "fugitive,"[32] set up by royal license glass furnaces at London for the purpose of manufacturing drinking glasses. Other ventures undertaken by refu-

28 Joan Evans, "Huguenot Goldsmiths in England and Ireland," HSL*Proc.*, XIV (1929-33), 499-500. Many alien craftsmen in these fields had been in England for a long time. The aliens' gild was "The Brotherhood of the Conception of Our Blessed Lady."

29 Entries in Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, X2, 39 f., 1571: "John Carr, howseholder, and Jane his wyfe, hath byn here iiij yeres and di', borne at Arras, cam hither for religion, and is of the Frenche churche; he is denizen, and hathe iij children. Domynick Casseler, Lawrence Farlonger, Vincent Gilio, Frauncis Gilio, Biasio Bradarmin, John Morato, all his servantes, all glassemakers, and all Italians. There dwelleth wyth hym also one Gerardo de Condo, who came for religion, and is of the Frenche church. His servantes above-named cam hither the laste of June 1571." Kirk, X1, 390 f., 1568: "John Quarrey, born in Arras in Flanders, had a license to make glass in Sussex, went to the French church." Kirk, X3, 380, 1568: "John Quarry, borne in Arras, in Flaunders, Jane his wif, Annes and Gilkin, his towe doughters; he hathe a licence to make glass in Sussex; he goethe to the Frenche churche, and dothe lodge and bord with the seid Peter Apple."

30 Page, *Letters of Denization*, xlvi.

31 See further Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, I, 302.

32 This term ordinarily would apply to a political émigré; but that sense could be combined with religious exile here.

gees could be mentioned.[33] The making of paper by aliens in England has a still less certain connection with the refugees. Whether the enterprise of John Spillman, a German, celebrated by the contemporary poet Thomas Churchyard, in his verses entitled "A Description and Playne Discourse of Paper, and the whole benefits that Paper brings, with rehearsall, and setting foorth in Verse a Paper-Myll built near Darthford by an High Germaine called Master Spilman, Jeweller to the Queenes Majestie," had much to do with the occupations of the religious exiles is not clear.[34] Since some six hundred men were employed in one way or another in the project, it is not unreasonable to suppose that refugees took a considerable part in it.

A glance at the lists of occupations engaged in by refugees will show their variety. There were surgeons, physicians, and apothecaries among them, although these occupations, like many others, called forth opposition from the natives from time to time. At Canterbury, for example, one Jan Inghelram had been allowed to start his trade, and it was recorded "that Mr. Inghelram the pottycary shalbe tollerated to occupy his trade and syence freely for one year."[35] But about a half year later his license was revoked "vpon the lamentable sute and complaynt of the appotycarys of this Cytty." The same trouble was encountered by those refugees in the building trades, the clothing business, the potters, etc.

A field of activity in which the exiles were well represented was that of victualling and gardening. Many colonies possessed, on the one hand brewers and bakers, and on the other hand gardeners. An interesting letter from the Reformed church at Emden to the London Dutch Church, in 1572, recommended the bearer, one Cornelis Claessn, a blind refugee, who wanted to get help in setting up a project for the export of beer. This man was very poor and had been supported by the brethren at Emden; but he was tired of relief, and wanted to earn his own

33 Page, *Letters*, xlvi. See also Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 253, who gives another date. "Ouvriers de verre à la verriere de Boucehaut" are referred to in *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, V, 491. Cf. also *V.C.H., Kent*, III, 401.

34 George H. Overend, "Notes upon the Earlier History of the Manufacture of Paper in England," HSL*Proc.*, VIII (1905-08), 177-220; Nef, *Industry*, 105 ff.; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 263; Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England*, 183.

35 Cross, *History*, 68, quoting the Burghmote Books (1572).

way.[36] Many exiles from the Continent brought to England their skill and experience in the brewing of beer. These folk, however, in addition to the suspicion with which aliens were sometimes regarded, were subject to the wide-spread unpoularity of millers, brewers, bakers, and victuallers generally, be they native or foreign. As Lipson says, the medieval citizen was convinced that dealers in foodstuffs cheated and had therefore to be regulated.[37] Many restrictions were laid on them. Refugee gardeners, of course, escaped this odium, and much of the technical agricultural development of England may be ascribed to the new methods and plants introduced by them. It was refugees who brought to Norwich the cultivation of "roots" as a truck garden product; and it was they who fostered the culture of flowers.[38] A Dutchman was paid 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1575 for "his travayle from Norwich to Hangrave to view ye orchards, gardyns, and walkes"; and another entry in the records for the same year states: "Paid to the Duchman for clypping the knotts, altering the alleys, setting the grounds, finding herbs, and bordering the same xls."[39] The city of Norwich and its environs became famous for the spectacular variety of horticultural products. New flowers not at that time known in England, such as carnations, provence roses, and gillyflowers made their appearance at Norwich.[40] At Sandwich also the refugees discovered that the soil was favorable to all manner of "esculent" plants. Flax, teazle, and canary, the last named a sort of grass product peculiar to Kent, were cultivated there.[41] Colchester likewise benefited from the farming experience of the Flemings and Walloons.[42] These contributions take on even more importance when the poor state of English agricultural technique during the sixteenth century is taken into consideration. No rut is so deep as the rut of agricultural custom and habit. And no service could have been of greater moment for the rural development of England than the new technique, methods, and advanced ways of thinking that characterized the stranger farmers.

36 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 161 f., No. 185, Mar. 31, 1572.
37 Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I, 295.
38 Moens, *Norwich*, 84.
39 *Ibid.*, 84, quoting Gaye's *Hengrave*, 17.
40 James, *Worsted Manufacture*, 114; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 196.
41 Dorman, "Notes," 211; Smiles, *The Huguenots*, 106-07.
42 Hardy, "Rye," 184; Page, *Letters of Denization*, xlv.

If the participation of the refugees in the manual trades was varied and significant, so also was their activity in the fine arts and non-manual occupations. Printing technically is a manual trade; but it leads directly to the contributions made in the fields of education and learning. In London alien bookbinders were common. In a list of alien members of the book trade in London during the Tudor period seventy could be counted.[43] Not only at London, but also at Norwich was printing by refugees important. In this latter town the press of Anthony de Solen (Solempne, Solemne), who came from Brabant in 1567, occupied a notable place among printing establishments in England. When he was admitted to the rights of a freeman of the city in 1570, the following entry was made in the Assembly Book:

> Anthonius de Solen, prynter non appren(ticius) [*sic* in Moens] admiss's est ciuis et ciuis sub condic'one that he shall not occupye eny trade of marchandise eyther from the parts beyonde the seaes or from London, but only his arte of prynting and selling of Renysh wyne, and for this he have agred to paye xlis.[44]

There is so much material on the role of aliens in the field of education that no more than a few high points can be taken into consideration here. First of all, the royal family made use of foreign instructors, many of them refugees.[45] Some of those who fled to England on account of their religious beliefs and subsequently supported themselves by teaching were famous in their own right. Besides Bucer in the chair of divinity at Cambridge and Martyr in that at Oxford and Fagius and his successor Tremellius teaching Hebrew at Cambridge, and many others of their fame, there were Peter Baro toward the end of the century teaching in the now venerable chair of divinity at Cambridge and Rodolphe Cavalier instructing in Hebrew at the same university,[46] Peter Regius in 1576 catechetical lecturer at Oxford and Dryander in 1549 Greek reader at Cambridge.[47] One could not find a year throughout the sixteenth century when

43 Page, *Letters of Denization*, xliii. For London see Ernest James Worman, *Alien Members of the Book Trade during the Tudor Period* (London, 1906).

44 Moens, *Norwich*, 72. Several of the books from Solen's press have become quite rare, are now collectors' items.

45 See further Foster Watson, "Notes and Materials on Religious Refugees and Their Relation to Education in England before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685," HSL*Proc.*, IX (1909-11), 299-475.

46 Strype, *Annals*, II1, 568; I2, 288.

47 Watson, "Notes," 310, 316.

refugees were not prominent in education. Many of the exiles were able to use their knowledge of a foreign language in good stead as a means of support, some writing textbooks and grammars as an aid to study.[48] What amounted to an innovation was the employment of some refugee schoolmistresses, of whom there were very few, either native or foreign in the sixteenth century.[49] In 1574 the chairs of the universities of Scotland were opened to Huguenot teachers, with the result that James Melvill could write in his fascinating diary that his brother Andro was a "seiklie tender boy, and tuk pleasur in nathing sa milke as his buik. Sa with the portion that was left him, he spendit a yeir or twa in Montrose . . . heiring a France man called Petrus de Marsailliers teache the Greik grammar, and sumthing of that language."[50]

Numerous artists among the refugees offered their gifts to the country that had received them. Among these one of the best was Guy de Brès, who was expert at painting on glass, and illustrated with lively drawings the narrations of expeditions of exploration and colonization by men like Ladonnière to Virginia and Florida. Lucas d'Heere was a portrait painter of Ghent.[51] In 1567 he was forced to flee to London, where he stayed for eight years in exile, in 1571 becoming an elder in the Dutch church. There are hardly any traces of his work in England. Jodocus Hondius, also of Ghent, was a map engraver and cosmographer, who went to England upon the occasion of his conversion to Protestantism.[52] In addition to his regular trade he worked as a mathematical instrument maker and an engraver. Great was the fame that his celestial and terrestrial globes, adornments for the library of many a noble, brought him, and enviable was the reputation that permitted him to collaborate with the eminent Gerard Mercator in making some of the earliest maps of England. A painter from Bruges was Marcus Geeraerts, who fled for the sake of religion in 1568, and was subsequently appointed painter to Queen Elizabeth.[53]

48 *Ibid.*, 346.
49 *Ibid.*, 450.
50 Florence Layard, "The Huguenots in North Britain," HSL*Proc.*, III (1888-91), 29, quoting from the Diary.
51 On Lucas see Lionel Cust, "Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion Working in London from about 1560 to 1660," HSL*Proc.*, VII (1901-04), 46-49.
52 *Ibid.*, 51-52.
53 Cust, "Foreign Artists," 52-53; Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, X², 80.

These are only a few of the many artists and men of cultural accomplishments who visited England during the troubles on the Continent or settled there and dwelt for the rest of their lives. When their talents and gifts are added to those bestowed upon English industry by the textile and cloth craftsmen from the Low Countries, those enthusiastic makers of bombazines and taffetas, frizeados and tufted mockadoes, bussins and carlettes, staments and russels and fustians and grograins; to those brought to the art of fashioning shoes from pieces of leather and creating exquisite masterpieces of gold and silver filigree; and to those planted in the very soil of England by the men who tilled and harvested—then some understanding may be attained of the magnitude of the contribution and the excellence of the endowment offered to the English nation through these homeless refugees, spurned by the rulers of their native lands.

2. Wealth

When attention is turned from the means by which the strangers made a living for themselves to the results of their efforts, that is, the wealth they accumulated, certain difficulties are confronted. One finds reports on the same community describing at one time the prosperity and flourishing business enjoyed there and at another time the poverty into which it has sunk and its inability to contribute to some common cause. Part of this, of course, is owing to the tendency among people of means to see only their poverty when approached for contributions. But another reason is the absence of a standard of judgment. Is the wealth of a particular community to be measured according to the prosperity of the town as a whole, or in comparison with the other refugee groups in other towns? Use may be made of both methods, with the hope that some understanding of the standard of life of the Dutch and Walloon exiles in England may be attained.

The wealth of the groups in relation to one another seems to have varied mainly according to the size of the community. London, of course, was the most powerful financially, and after it came Norwich. Certain communities, like that at Maidstone, were chronically in need of assistance, never did possess funds

sufficient to maintain their own existence.[54] An exchange of letters between the London Dutch Church and that of Sandwich in 1577 is quite illuminating on the question of the relative strength of the various centers.[55] In the first letter the London folk reproach those of Sandwich for not bearing their proper share of the expenses for some common project in which all the groups were to participate. The whole amount to be collected would be fifty pounds; of this the London Church would give twenty-seven, while in their opinion those at Sandwich should contribute six or eight, according to the *pro rata* agreement. In reply Sandwich said that a really fair arrangement would follow the relative wealth of the churches; that is, London, ten to one, Norwich four to one, and Sandwich something more than Colchester, a formula that would require of Sandwich no more than two pounds, in view of the extra expense they had incurred.[56] In a gesture of generosity, however, they expressed willingness to give three pounds.

Few of the refugees were wealthy when they came to England; some became quite rich during their exile. The majority, however, did not possess an inordinate amount of money or property. One cannot speak of the opulence of the strangers. This is shown in many ways, and especially by the housing conditions. In London, for example, the Privy Council was constrained to write four letters to the Lord Mayor about a report "that moche infection grewe" because there were so many aliens living together in crowded quarters.[57] The authorities at Rye were also considerably exercised over the matter of housing, for they wrote to the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports (Cobham) to the effect that no more than one thousand refugees could be quartered in the town, "divers houses beinge too much pestered with them."[58] Glastonbury and Southampton were like-

54 See below, 64 f.

55 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 413-16, No. 436, Jan. 9, 1577; 417-19, No. 439, Jan. 27, 1577; see also 434-35, No. 459, Apr. 18, 1577, in which the Norwich group added their opinion that they should not have to give anything, because they had opposed the project all along, and would not benefit.

56 This evidence, of course, is not free from partiality. The Sandwich group would naturally be interested in placing itself low in the scale. For the other groups, however, the information should hold some weight.

57 *Acts of the Privy Council*, VIII (1571-75), 135, Sept. 27, 1573.

58 W. J. Hardy, "Foreign Refugees at Rye," HSL*Proc.*, II (1887-88), 420, 576, letter to Cobham, Mar. 1, 1585-86.

wise troubled by this problem, although it became less important as the exiles settled more permanently.

That they did not think of their exile as an unmitigated hardship and loss is shown by some of the letters that were sent from Norwich to friends in Ypres. Two refugees wrote to their parents that one need have no anxiety over earning one's living, for, God be praised, business was good here.[59] They exhorted them to come to England, rather by way of Yarmouth than Sandwich, because the latter route cost twice as much. Another refugee wrote to his good friend, Lazarus, describing the manner of life at Norwich:

Wy wonen hier inde Hoochstrate int huus van meester Thomaes, eē zeer schone prinselicke plaetse. Ic ben hier int schoonste vanden huze stille alleene, met eē schone camer al ghestoffeert eñ twee kamerkins aen sijde ter vertreck aē ons camer, eñ eē schoon plaeysant hof voor my, eē schone kelder: ic en soude in Yper gheē schoonder woenste vindē; met eē plaese int middel, eē boghaert, ghemeene weye, hove etc. [*sic*]. Wy waendē te loopē inde wildernesse, eñ de Heere heeft ons ghebracht inne tlant vā beloftē. Hem zy lof eñ prijs vā ewicheyt tot ewicheyt, amen.[60]

When one turns to consider the description of the condition of the refugee colony as expressed in letters to the other churches when contributions to some common cause had been requested, the contrast is almost amusing. In the year 1588 they stated that they were poorer and that their business was insignificant, that their own poor folk could not find work and that they should have to ask for help from the other communities next winter.[61] Ten years later they actually did seek help in the support of their poor, ascribing their unhappy condition to high prices, poor trade, more poor people, and fewer rich ones.[62] More than once they pled poverty in reply to requests for help from other colonies.[63] No doubt there was a good deal

59 Janssen, "De hervormde Vlugtelingen," 228, Andries and Tanneken van der Haghe to their parents, Aug. 28, No. 7: ". . . uwe schuldenaers, Pieter Keerle eñ Steven de Mol, hier zijn, de welcke zelve grootelix begheeren dat ghy cōmen zoudt, eñ zy zullen met u wel accorderē. . . . Wilt oock niet besoorcht zijn om uwen cost te winnen; want, Gode lof, hier es groote neerynghe, eñ ick eñ mijn broeder zullen u in alles wat wy vermoghen in gheenen noode laeten, maer bystaen."

60 *Ibid.*, 240, Typer to L., Nov. 6, No. 54.

61 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 880, No. 1124, Sept. 1 [11], 1588.

62 *Ibid.*, II, 888-890, No. 258, to London, May 24, 1597 (O.S.); 891-92, No. 259, June 27, 1597 (O.S.); III, 1005-1006, No. 1386, Norwich to Gheleyn de Beste, June 27 [July 7], 1597.

63 *Ibid.*, III, 903, No. 1171.

of truth in their contention, for the burdens of taxation and extraordinary levy they had to bear were large, as has been seen. The excuses they made, however, certainly were exaggerated.

Information on other colonies is rather scattered. Some of the authorities at Colchester wrote Cecil in 1598 that the Dutch there had attained "to a far greater substance than any of the inhabitants of the town."[64] Their wealth is indicated by the large size of the levies and loans exacted from them by the government.[65] Yet they were not above pleading poverty when contributions were requested. Sandwich exiles likewise described how many poor they had and how peaceful but poor was their church.[66] But some years later one hundred pounds was borrowed by the town from some of the more well-to-do Dutch refugees.[67] Maidstone was chronically poor,[68] and the same could be said of the small congregation at Ipswich.[69] It is impossible to find the relation of the wealth of individual refugees and the trades they pursued, but it is interesting to note that at Norwich the men who paid the highest rates in a subsidy of 1624, as compared with a return of aliens in 1622, were two gardeners (of whom one was the highest of all), six hosiers (besides another who was also a merchant), one other merchant who was also a draper, one wool-comber, one dyer, and a weaver.[70] In this case the hosiers were the richest group.

Turning now finally to the relation of the refugees' wealth to the property that they had or had had in the Netherlands, or that they had brought over to England with them, notice is first directed to the contact that was maintained between the two countries throughout the entire period of exile. A regular service was provided from Nieuport to Norwich via Yarmouth, on the ship sailed by Wulffaert Boeteman, in whom the refugees placed great confidence. By this means or other Netherlanders

64 Courtauld, "East Anglia," 142.

65 Moens, *Register of Baptisms*, iv.

66 Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 332-34, No. 99, Jan. 2, 1570 (O.S.).

67 Dorman, "Notes," 237, in 1596. Two years later, however, the charge of £40 laid on the refugees for night watching was reduced to £30 on the grounds of the poverty of the congregation.

68 Cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, III, Nos. 194, 214, 219, 284, 297, for example. These letters from the church at Maidstone to the London church, between the years 1572 and 1574, either request help or express gratitude for help already extended. The Sandwich community helped them also.

69 Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 388-390, No. 109, Sept. 21, 1571.

70 Moens, *Norwich*, iv.

had little trouble in getting to England. As the Inquisitor Titelmann wrote to the Duchess of Parma on November 14, 1561, they came over time and again without hindrance, taking their goods with them.[71] Not only did they leave the country without let, but also they returned in small groups or individually to see friends and relatives or to attend to business.[72] The letters exchanged between Norwich and Ypres[73] show how easily contact was maintained across the North Sea. Besides this evidence there is the case of Jan Pollet, who was caught in the Netherlands and charged with being a messenger between there and the refugees in England. He had been serving as liaison between refugees in Britain and business and personal connections on the Continent, and had been engaged in the business for several years before he was arrested at Hondschoote.[74] Many exiles, however, did not rely on any other person, but made the journey themselves. An example of this activity is found in the proceedings against Pieter Heuseck, who had taken refuge in England and later returned to the Low Countries, and whose goods had been confiscated in 1562.[75]

Ordinarily it is assumed that the persecuted Protestants, on leaving their land of birth, left everything behind them except their religious faith and their strong arms. This is not quite true. Many went out of the country taking with them most, if not all, of their possessions, money, and other valuables. The Pieter Heuseck mentioned above testified about a man who took out of the country a large sum of money without hindrance.[76] The refugees in Norwich brought with them certain

71 Ed. de Coussemaker (ed.), *Troubles religieux du XVIe siècle dans la Flandre maritime 1560-1570* (Bruges, 1876, 4 vols.), I. 87.

72 *Ibid.*, I, 187, a report of the Baron of Rassenghien to the Duke of Alva, Jan. 28, 1567 (O.S.).

73 See above, 46, nn. 5-7.

74 Coussemaker, *Troubles*, IV, 30. A short calendar of papers on the process against Pollet is given on pp. 125 f. The sentence was handed down Sept. 15, 1571 (209 f.). In a note from Lucas Meeze to the Procurator General of Flanders a good description is made of what sort of work Pollet was engaged in: ". . . hoe dat den bailliu van Hondschote gheapprehendeert hadde eenen Jan Pollet, gheboren van Belle, over den welken bevonden waeren diversche missiven commende uut Inghelant van gherefugierrde persoonen uut dese landen, ter cause van vooleden troublen, addresserende an persoonen binnen desen lande noch residerende. . . ."

75 Coussemaker, *Troubles*, I, 350.

76 *Ibid.*, I, 352, from the interrogation: "Secht voors hoe dat Francois Bolle, van Meenene [Menin], wel VIIIc rixdalers bracht in Ynghelant die dicwils noch te Meenene overcompt."

funds.[77] On the other hand there were those who left possessions in the Netherlands in the expectation—or at least the hope—of retaining control of their disposition and income. In this apparently some succeeded.[78] Others, however, were not so fortunate: A glance at the records of confiscation made by the authorities in the Low Countries tells its own story.[79] The Norwich refugees were no exception, and one asked for help in paying his debts *"want mijn goet tot Yper al verloren gaet, en ick hebet daer zeere al ghelaten."*[80] The Spanish officials did all in their power to hinder and restrain the movement of people and goods out of the land, but encountered extraordinary difficulties. In a letter written at the beginning of 1568, the Baron of Rassenghien reported to the Duke of Alva on messengers who (like Jan Pollet) carried letters between England and his provinces. He suggested that the captains of all the ports be admonished to watch carefully for such persons, and to find out the designs of the "fugitifz."[81] The Duchess of Parma and others were much exercised over the problem, and sought in vain to find some means of stemming the tide not only of primary exodus from the country but also of continued contact and business.[82] The story of this trade and travel from and to Holland and England offers one of the most interesting aspects of the sixteenth century refugee movement.

77 See Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 103-04, No. 145, Pieter de Springhere, Dover, to the London Church, Mar. 27, 1570: This man inquired about some property of relatives of his who had died in London; they were well off, had brought over forty Flemish pounds and had earned much money in England: ". . . . ende de wille dat zy reidelic wel ghestelt waren twelke ons kennelic is dat zij hier int landt meer dan vertich pont groote brochten ende hier onlancx tyt int landt gheweest hadden, doen zij storuen ende daer beneuens meer dan hare costen wonnen. . . ." They wanted to know what had happened to it.

78 See e.g., Janssen, "Vlugtelingen," 242, where one wrote in December about debts of his in Ypres; he wanted to pay a debt with six jars of wine now held in the Low Countries. See also p. 261, where another refugee was amazed "dat ghy, die een eerlijck man weisē wilt ende wel habt waerby leiven, dat ghy gheel conscientie en maeckt dat ghy dus langhe mijn goedt in u ghewelt houdende zijt."

79 Coussemaker, *Troubles*, II, 384 ff., *passim*, on "fugitifs" and "bannis."

80 Janssen, "Vlugtelingen," 243, Jan Klypeel to C. van Houcke, Dec. 15.

81 Coussemaker, *Troubles*, I, 163, Jan. 11: ". . . il seroit bien expedient que les capitaines et officiers de Duunckerque, Nieuport et des aultres portz maritimes vers Augleterre fussent advysez de prendre bien sougneulx regardt sur telz passagiers, et oussy pour attrapper les messagiers et les lettres de correspondence que s'envoyent journellement des sectaires d'ichy aulx fugitifz, pour descouvrir leurs dessaings."

82 Cf. Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 144, 145, n. 2.

3. Maintenance of Church Organization

Turning now from the means of support of the individual refugees and the wealth that the separate colonies attained to as a result of that activity to the problem of the maintenance of the community itself, three main aspects may be discerned: the support of the church organization, help given back and forth between the different communities, and subsidies and gifts from various governmental and private sources. With these points we shall be concerned in the remainder of this chapter. The most direct means of obtaining funds for ecclesiastical purposes was, of course, the taking up of collections. These generally came after the church services, and were supplemented by numerous special collections that were sometimes made from house to house. Not everyone, apparently, gave to the best of his ability, for one finds in the acts of the colloquies held by the English refugee churches regulations that those who did not help the church according to their means were to be exhorted to do so; if they persisted in their ingratitude they were to be called before the consistory for censure, and eventually turned over to the magistrate.[83] In the city of Norwich the French church submitted a petition to the bishop requesting his help "in the bringing home of these two strayed sheep unto their owne Shepefold," referring to two persons who had deserted the refugee community and joined the English church in order that they might be relieved of the onerous duties and charges that accompanied membership in the former.[84] They were not oblivious to the psychology of collection technique: since it was said that a public accounting of money held by the church had the effect of decreasing gifts from those who would not give if they saw money already in the treasury, a proposal was made at one of the colloquies that the record of collections be kept secret.[85]

One of the chief expenses of the churches was the support of the ministers who brought the Word of God to the exiles. A large church like the London Dutch Church would keep three or four ministers at the same time, while a poor little community like that at Maidstone could keep but one, and that one only with the financial assistance of the London group. A separate

83 Chamier, *Les actes des colloques*, 9 f., 1586, Art. 3.
84 Moens, *Norwich*, 285 (App. XXXII).
85 Johnston, *Les actes du consistoire*, 31 (Jan., 1560-61).

fund was set up for the maintenance of the minister.[86] Ordinarily the demand for ministers outran the supply, especially when the new Reformed churches in the Netherlands began clamoring for leaders to hold together all the new flocks.

In the question of support for students of the ministry during their period of preparation, an interesting development is to be noticed in the progress from individual provision by the separate churches to the establishment of a common fund for the maintenance of a certain number of students who were to fill vacancies in the churches as they arose. It was the custom then to send young men to the Continent, especially to Geneva, their expenses being born by the whole congregation of which they were members. At the Colloquy of Norwich in 1583 it was decided to set up a common treasury for the support of students for all the churches of England.[87] In this way a steady stream of religious leaders was prepared in the best the Continent had to offer in evangelical theology.

That phase of church organization to which the refugees gave their closest attention and which sometimes amazed their English hosts was the administration of poor relief. Making their excuses for declining a request for special contributions for military expansion, the London refugees explained that they had to support sixty poor families in addition to numbers of *"passants"* who sought hospitable reception for a day or so, and to the poor churches in the provinces, to whom they gave much.[88] This practice of self-sufficient poor relief was general among all the exiles in England. The method and extent of the poor relief administration may be most clearly shown by taking one example for detailed study: Sandwich. The deacons' account books, which run from 1568 to 1572, offer rich material on the subject. When the accounts first were preserved, the fund for the poor went into the red; but by 1570 a credit balance amounted to £9 1*s.* 2*d.* and this was kept steady.[89] The collections were

86 *Ibid.*, 17; Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 818-19, No. 233, where the expenses listed include items for ministers.

87 Chamier, *Actes des colloques*, 4 f., Art. 4.

88 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 881-82, No. 1126, London Dutch Church to the Privy Council, Sept. 9 [19], 1588.

89 The following study on Sandwich is based largely on Moens, "Relief of the Poor Members of the French Churches in England," 321-342. The elders and deacons first "lent" personal funds to the chest, until the balance was restored. Cf. also Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 305-07; Burn, *Protestant Refugees*, 55.

small, except when the Lord's Supper was celebrated every three months. Help came from other churches in England.[90] Gifts for the poor came from an amazing variety of sources. Collections, bequests, gifts, fines, goods, Bibles, all bringing in money to the poor fund, from widows, from young girls, from the minister (who, though quite poor himself and with relatives on relief, gave a spoon that brought two shillings in place of his regular monthly gift of fourpence, which he could no longer afford), from craftsmen who gave "bays" instead of money—all these went into the poor chest.

How much of this income was spent in taking care of the poor? The general figures for the first years run as follows:

	Receipts	Payments
1569	£43 5*s.* 4*d.*	£38 8*s.* 4*d.*
1570	36 8 1/2	36 19 2
1571	52 18 10	47 11 3
1572 (Jan.-Feb.)	5 11 6	5 3 10

What sort of expenditures were made? For whom? The material on this is as varied and abundant as that on the sources of income. Individual allotments seem to have been rather generous: in October, 1568, eight persons received *7s. 6d.*, a tidy sum of money. Most people got about one shilling. In hard times payments were sometimes made daily.[91] One venture of the poor-relief administrators was to bake bread to distribute to the indigent. After two or three months, however, the plan was abandoned, probably because of opposition from the Bakers' Gild. Not only money and bread, but also clothing and anything necessary were lent or given: mattresses, cloaks, mantles, linen, shirts, children's shoes, men's shoes, etc. Physicians and nurses were provided for the sick and infirm. Shelter and lodging were provided for indigent transient refugees. All this work was organized and administered with strict accounting.

90 Moens, "Relief," 327: In 1568 Southampton sent £2; 1569 London sent £1 16*s.* 4*d.* and £2 3*s.*; they also sold goods sent £2 19*s.* 1*d.*; Southampton sent £1 10*s.*; Norwich (French Church) sent £5 8*s.* 1*d.*; 1571 London French Church sent £2 10*s.* 3*d.*

91 One widow was rather importunate; she was given 1*s.* on Dec. 3; but the next two entries record "ladite encore three pence" and "four pence" and two later entries list 1*s.* 10*d.*

4. Mutual Assistance

Times were so precarious for all the refugee churches in England that a continual interrelationship of mutual assistance had to be maintained. The closest connection existed between the different English churches, but help went also to Continental groups. To begin in London, it will be noticed that, when the Dutch and Walloon groups in that city separated, one to continue in Austin Friars and the other to occupy the famous Threadneedle Street building, the larger group, the Dutch, agreed to contribute toward the expenses of the smaller, the French. They paid for the costs of repair to the church, and assumed one-half of the rent charged for its use. This arrangement continued throughout the reign of Edward VI and was resumed under Elizabeth.[92]

Glancing through the various centers of refugee life, a veritable maze of interrelated help is presented. Some of the churches, especially those at London and Norwich, were self-sufficient and quite able to attend to their own needs besides helping in the support of the smaller and weaker brethren. Others, like Sandwich, were generous in support of smaller groups, then fell into evil days themselves, had to ask for help. Some, like Maidstone, Thetford, and Winchelsea, were in need all the time. Yarmouth obtained four pounds from the London community in 1575, but was advised to apply for further help to the Norwich group, which was closer.[93] The next year Norwich wrote to London about the poverty of the minister at Yarmouth, and expressed the opinion that help ought to be given by the London people.[94] The patience displayed by the London Dutch Church toward the small, poor, and sometimes importunate group at Maidstone is worthy of admiration. It is interesting to follow through an exchange of letters and opinions between these two communities, in a series of problems confronting the smaller church in its attempts to survive.[95]

92 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 36, and n. 2. See also Beeman, "The Early History," 272, who places the rent at £4 in 1550 and £5 in 1551.

93 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 350-52, No. 363, Yarmouth to London, Nov. 1, 1575.

94 *Ibid.*, III, 378 f., No. 398, Norwich to London, July 20, 1576: "Want des mans noot deert ons grotelix, hebbende 5 cleyne kinderen, ende een geheel cropele vrowe." See also *ibid.*, 379-380, No. 400, Norwich to London, Aug. 3, 1576.

95 For these letters see *ibid.*, III, Nos. 777, 778, 791, 800, 805, etc., all written in 1582, between London and Maidstone. All are printed in full, except No. 778, which is calendared.

The Maidstone community, however, was not the only one to find itself in financial straits. Yarmouth, Dover, Thetford, and Halstead all asked for and received help. A striking example of the turning of the tables is Sandwich. This group had many times participated in collections for poor churches both in England and on the Continent. In 1584, however, this same group wrote to London, explaining that, whereas they used to give aid to others, now they were forced to ask aid for themselves. Help was generously given. Assistance went outside England to Geneva and especially to the new churches in the Netherlands. Although this stream ran only one way most of the time, at least once a return was made and sides were changed. In 1593 an epidemic had so thinned the numbers of the refugee churches in London that the Protestants of Amsterdam, touched by their affliction, came to their aid with special collections.[96]

In his Third Sermon before the King, March 22, 1547, Hugh Latimer, after speaking of John à Lasco, who had been here but then departed, said, "There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochin, which have a hundred marks apiece: I would the King would bestow a thousand pound on that sort."[97] This was the spirit that moved Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to invite to England numerous individuals, most of whom have already been mentioned. At this point attention is given to the help extended them by various people and organizations in England. One of the most interesting examples of this help may be found in the expense account for the journey of Peter Martyr to England, as kept by the man under whose care the trip was made.[98] Once in England, as has been seen, these early refugees for the most part went into teaching in Oxford and Cambridge. Most of them stayed for a longer or shorter period with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace, where hospitality was extended to whoever had something to offer in the intellectual, and especially in the Protestant theological, field. Of greater interest for the eco-

96 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 277, after a letter from Jean Taffin to Bèze, dated from Amsterdam, Dec. 15, 1593.

97 Latimer, *Sermons*, 141.

98 I have had the opportunity of studying this expense account by means of a photostat in the possession of Dr. Roland Bainton.

nomic life of the foreign refugees in England, however, is the record of the help given to the communities that were settled in different centers throughout the country. This help came from various sources, governmental, municipal, ecclesiastical, individual patrons, and even gilds. When the strangers first organized themselves in London in 1550, the King assumed expense for the repair of their hall.[99] The church in which the Norwich exiles held their services was obtained through the influence of the Duke of Norfolk with the Bishop of Norwich and the Archbishop of Canterbury, through whose agency an empty chapel was obtained for them. In Scotland an act of Parliament gave a church and paid the minister of the refugee community.

Not only the royal government, but also the magistrates of the cities, helped the strangers, especially when they first arrived. From the English church came help. At Southampton a sermon of collection for the French refugees in 1563 brought forty-five pounds. Many of the bishops ordered special collections, especially Grindal and the Bishop of Lincoln. Finally, and perhaps most surprising of all, help came to the strangers, in many cases cordially disliked by the native craftsmen, from the Bakers' Company of London.[100] This Company took a great interest in the religious conflicts of the day, and expressed sympathy for the refugees of St. Bartholomew. Discovering that they had one hundred shillings left over from fines for non-attendance at funerals, a sum not large enough to provide a dinner to the livery, they decided that it were better given "towards the relief of the pore persones Frenchemen protestants commynge to this Citie wt their wifes & Childerne for succour, by reason of the cruell murther done executyd by the ffrenche king uppon his Subjects for the professinge of gods worde and Christ's gospell than upon a superfluouse banquet."

A word should be said about the individual patrons who took special interest in the welfare of those who had been persecuted and exiled for religion. The first in importance, of course, were Edward VI and Elizabeth, without whose sympathy and friendliness little could have been done. Above all others

99 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 69-70; Beeman, "The Early History," 269; *Remembrancia*, III, 132 f., No. 75.

100 Sylvia Thrupp, *A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Bakers of London* (n.p., 1933), 158.

in personal concern and interest must be listed the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by whose indefatigable zeal, not only for individual refugees of fame and ability but also for large groups who desired to settle in communities, the migration was made possible.[101] Other early leaders who took a deep interest in the problem were Cecil, Sir John Cheke, Henry Earl of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk, and several of the bishops.[102] After the return under Elizabeth the three most valuable friends of the exiles were Parker, Grindal, and Sandys,[103] but Jewel was not far behind.[104] Various private benefactors could also be mentioned. The sum total of the benefactions of the friends of the refugees is a worthy testimony to the sincerity of the welcome extended by England to the persecuted of other lands.

101 All the work of Cranmer need not be reviewed. Some references from his own letters are: Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 426, 434, 435, Letters CCXC, CCXCIX, CCC.

102 For Cheke: Strype, *John Cheke*, 54. He was a friend of Martyr and Bucer, and befriended many refugees. For the bishops see Strype, *Thomas Cranmer*, 336, 338, 646.

103 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 221. Parker, *Letters*, CCCXXII, CVI; also Sandy's sermons XIV and XX; further, Strype, *Matthew Parker*, II, 230, 231, 233; Moens, *Norwich*, 38; Strype, *Annals*, I1, 175.

104 Strype, *Annals*, I2, 271.

CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND: ECONOMIC ADAPTATION

And thus we nourish Serpentes in our bosomes who stinges us to the very harte.

Complaint of the Yeoman Weavers against Immigrant Weavers, 1595

1. The Economic Organization of England

Two questions about the refugees in England have been answered: what place was given to the refugees, or what place did they make for themselves, in the governmental system? How did they make their living? It is now necessary to look into another question, related to both of those above, but in many ways more important than either of them: how did the refugees manage to gear into the well-developed economic system that dominated English life during the Tudor period? To how much economic regulation were they required to submit? How much opposition rose up against them and what obstacles were put in their way? What arrangements were made to overcome that opposition and those obstacles? Finally, what were the results of this exchange of influence, on the one hand on the refugees and on the other hand on English economy? In order that the position of the exiles may be understood, a word must be said about economic life as they found it when they crossed the Channel and settled in the cities and towns and villages of that country.

Attention has already been given to the central place held by the government in economic relations. Certain aspects of governmental supervision—apprenticeship, naturalization, hostage—directly affected the religious refugees. Taking a more comprehensive view, however, they were also a part of the "system" that developed along with the rise of the new national states, namely, mercantilism. England under the Tudors offers interesting illustrations of this attitude and practice. If ever a government was paternalistic, that of the Tudors was; and oversight of industrial and commercial activity was an impor-

tant part of the philosophy. Cities ceased to be the centers of commerce, and men turned more and more to the national states for guidance. The "wealth of nations" became an object of prime concern. All of the characteristic features—extensive commercial ventures, attraction of gold and silver into the country, monopolies supported by the government, tendency to subordinate agriculture to industry and commerce—were centered around the political concerns of national policy. This constant participation and overbearing regulation by the state in economic affairs is one of the most important features of English life during the sixteenth century, and must be kept continually in mind.

In this period, of course, industrial and commercial organization was centered around the gild. In England the situation was complicated by the fact that the gild system was by no means logical and unified: besides the typical craft gild there were a holdover from the old merchant gild and a new development in the livery company. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the economic structure of the towns was vested in the gilds merchant, trading companies that held a virtual monopoly in most of England.[1] The non-individualistic nature of the gild merchant is shown by the custom of "lot," a privilege of member merchants by which each had the right to share in any commercial transaction made by a fellow-gildsman, at least those at which the merchant was present or represented. During this time there was increasing rebellion against this practice, as ambitious men sought to obtain advantages for themselves to the exclusion of all others.[2] The functions of the gild merchant dealt mainly with the control of trade, care of the distressed, arbitration of differences without recourse to law, prevention of undue competition, and maintenance of the status of member merchants.

1 This was not true in London, Norwich, and the Cinque Ports, where a gild merchant was never established. Cf. Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I, 265.

2 *Ibid.*, 269 f. The original intention was to safeguard equal opportunity of all against a monopoly of a few rich merchants. As late as 1587 Southampton complained against a breakdown of the privilege. A certain ambiguity existed in the relations of the gild merchant with the municipal government: it was not private and independent, yet it was not the same as the borough government. The borough court, the center of the community, was separate from the gild, and gildsman and burgess were not synonymous terms. It so happened, however, that the same officers governed both gild and borough, so that in time the two tended to merge. There was enough difference, however, to cause considerable confusion of function.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this older system was replaced in importance by the newer craft gilds, a structure based not on commercial grounds but on separate trades and handicrafts. A general comprehensive commercial organization was superseded by more numerous forms representing craftsmen in particular trades—that is, an aspect of the replacement of commercial capital by industrial capital.[3] The functions of the craft gilds were much the same as those of the gilds merchant; but they were exercised for the benefit of a different membership. The details of these various activities are familiar to students of economic history.

Before the sixteenth century, however, a further change had been brought about in English economy: the development of the great livery companies. This came about through the disintegration of the craft gilds, caused by a number of factors working concomitantly. The first of these was the rise of the so-called yeomen gilds within the craft structure: these organizations of journeymen were included in the existing system, but separate from and sometimes independent of it. Behind the whole development lay the fact that the journeymen were rapidly and inevitably turning into a class of permanent wage-earners, unable to rise into the ranks of the masters. Present in London in 1301, these yeomen gilds became widespread in the fifteenth century.[4] Fearful of innovations, the government set itself against the new tendencies, and in 1548 forbade workmen to establish unions for the purpose of improving conditions of labor—for such was the real intention motivating the movement. Throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth, and first part of the sixteenth centuries the yeomen gilds were relatively independent organizations, made up of journeymen (that is, hired workers), in revolt against their masters and proscribed by the municipal authorities. Under the government of Elizabeth they were recognized, but lost their independence.[5] Many other factors helped in the disintegration of the craft gilds, already torn by this internal strife: the indifference of the members, who cared little for the functions of their gild; the disappearance of the gild pageant, the outward symbol of mutual interest and cohesive-

3 George Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1904), 17.
4 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 401 f.
5 *Ibid.*, 407. Cf. Consitt, *London Weavers' Company*, I, 130-34.

ness; the exclusiveness; the abuse of powers, which led to government interference and control; and the operation of general economic forces, such as the amalgamation of crafts and the end of town economy.[6] The main factor in both the decay of the craft gilds and the rise of the livery companies was the separation of gild members into traders and craftsmen, a movement that the gilds of yeomen tended—although not necessarily—to foster. In the more progressive industries the gild master left his shop and became a merchant employer, while at the same time the journeyman gained more independence as a small master. These two formed two new classes, the components of the newer industrial organization of the sixteenth century, the merchant employers becoming the livery and the small masters becoming the yeomanry.[7] In the order of their precedence in 1516 the twelve great livery companies of London were: mercers, grocers, drapers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, skinners, tailors, haberdashers, salters, ironmongers, vintners, and shearmen. In these organizations the old gild spirit of equality of members no longer held sway: in place of the former assembly of members there was now the Court of Assistants, chosen exclusively from those of the livery, that is to say, the richer members.[8] They came to be not unlike employers' associations.[9] As summarized by Lipson:

> When the crafts were reconstituted as chartered companies, it was inevitable that the control should pass into the hands of the richer members, the employers and capitalists, whose wealth had been mainly instrumental in obtaining the charter and in building the hall, and upon whom the maintenance of their privileges would naturally depend. A cleavage was produced between the trading and industrial capitalists on the one hand, and the artificers on the other; the latter were organized as a separate but strictly subordinate body, the yeomanry or bachelor gilds, consisting in the main of small masters outside the livery, who were confined to the manual parts of their trade.[10]

Another aspect of this development was the absorption by a trade of the crafts connected with it; for example, the Company of the Haberdashers had by 1500 absorbed the crafts of the

6 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 411-426; Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, 70.
7 Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, 69.
8 Lujo Brentano, *Eine Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Englands* (Jena, 1927-28, 3 vols. in 4), II, 100-103; Lipson, I, 426 f. More and more the difference came to be one between poor and rich: in 1487 the London Carpenters let no person wear the livery "but if he be worth in movable goods or otherwise xx marc."
9 Nef, *Industry and Government*, 26.
10 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 428.

hatters and the cappers, although the Company itself was originally mercantile.[11] One result of this particular set-up was that the traders profited and the craftsmen suffered from the wide trade in foreign hats that flourished at that time. Although the outbreaks of Evil May Day in 1517 were directed against the aliens, the intolerable situation caused by this conflict between trader and craftsman had not a little to do with the riot.

For its influence on the refugee problem, perhaps the most important aspect of English economic development is the rise of the woolen industry. Long before the religious refugees of the sixteenth century began to stream into England there was a tradition of alien participation in this business. Early attempts to strengthen native wool crafts by the introduction of foreign craftsmen were apparently not successful; but early in the fourteenth century the plan set up by Edward II was carried out by Edward III.[12] By the sixteenth century much of the weaving industry had already migrated to the country, in spite of efforts to arrest the movement. Capital followed into rural areas, making it possible for the country weaver to free himself from dependence on the town draper. Furthermore, the large merchant capitalists of the big cities came in as rivals of the local traders for the country business; and technical developments gave more independence to the skilled workers in the towns in the finishing industries.

> The result which these three developments combined to produce was that the town draper was driven by the competition of large mercantile capital operating from a distance to fall back upon the protection afforded by local privilege, and to seek, in conjunction with the finishing crafts, to reinstate the town as the regulative center of the industry.[13]

Tudor policy fell in with this latter drive, at least till the time of Elizabeth, a fact shown by the Weaver's Act of 1555.[14] The movement was too strong, however, for such measures to be effective, and the town weavers' gilds became progressively weaker.

One other aspect of the economic situation in England at the time of the refugee influx is of central importance to an un-

11 Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, 82.

12 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 448-451. Cf. Consitt, *The London Weavers' Company*, I, 33 f.

13 Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, 88; cf. Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 505.

14 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 506.

derstanding of their position. This is the system of apprenticeship of which mention has already been made in connection with the governmental attitude toward the exiles. After the legislation of Henry VIII came the famous Statute of Apprentices of 1563, which made the apprenticeship period of seven years universal in the land. This law applied to all apprentices, and thus included aliens as well as natives. Hitherto the practice of apprenticeship had varied from place to place.[15] No end of trouble was stirred up by these regulations, and, as far as the refugees were concerned, enforcement was either not executed for reasons of policy or found impossible, because of refusal of foreigners who had already become masters on the Continent to repeat that long and tedious process again.[16]

2. The London Companies and the Refugees: Norwich

A discussion of the economic relations of the refugees with the economic organization of England inevitably revolves around two main points: the regulations imposed upon the exiles, and the opposition that rose up against them. When they came to England and sought to enter into the life of the communities, they were immediately enmeshed in the conflicts that then were raging in the industrial structure of English economy. They had to find some way of living inside or alongside of the gilds; they, being chiefly craftsmen connected with the cloth industry, had to adapt themselves to the extraordinarily complicated organization of the English woolen trade; they had to seek some means of escaping the strict laws on apprenticeship, which, if enforced against them, would have made manufacturing well-nigh impossible; and finally they had to deal with the jealousies and antagonisms inherent in the English class system of the times, enmities that all too often were diverted to hatred of the foreigners, although they may have had little to do with the forces that had started the trouble. A case in point is that of the craft gildsmen versus the livery. The concentration of power in the hands of the Court of Assistants was not viewed with favor by the small masters who cherished the ancient ideal of the equal rights of all members of the gild. Restrictions on the process of rising to mastership but aggravated the situation. At the same time the livery welcomed the refugees, perceiving

15 *Ibid.*, I, 314-15, 323.
16 Actually some attempts to enforce this unjust demand were made.

in them more trade and more labor supply. As a result, the small masters and the journeymen turned against the exiles, even though the latter were not at all the basic cause of their plight.[17] It is obvious that, under such conditions, no refugee community could escape being embroiled in industrial and class conflict. The following section deals with the working-out of these various forces in two of the most interesting centers of refugee life, London and Norwich. The succeeding section will treat of the situation in England as a whole.

Before dealing with the economic organization of London in its entirety, the relations between the refugees and the Weavers' Company may be considered first. That regulation of aliens was not neglected, even in the early times of the colony in London, is shown by an entry of the year 1553 in the Accounts of the Weavers' Company: "Item paid when we went to serche the straungers that was new set up. . . . . xx^{d}."[18] When strangers were admitted to the gild they paid about twenty-five shillings, while natives paid about six shillings eight pence plus a silver spoon; the charges for the acquirement of mastership were correspondingly higher for aliens. In the Ordinances of 1577, which stated that all weavers within two miles of London, as well English as foreign, were subject to the sums assessed by the Bailiffs, it was expressly stated that the Company intended to enforce all the statutes dealing with aliens and to bring them under its control.[19] In like manner a decree of

17 George Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London* (London, 1938), 251.

18 Consitt, *The London Weavers' Company*, I, 284. This excellent study by Miss Consitt is the most valuable special work on the Weavers' Company.

19 *Ibid.*, I, 140; Appendix 19, pp. 285 ff., where the Ordinances are printed: Art. 31, p. 298: "Item it is ordeyned that everye person and persons aswell Englisshe as Alyaunt, Denyzons or forreyns inhabitinge within . . . London that doth or shall hereafter use or exercyse the saide Arte or Misterie of Weavers or anythinge apperteyninge therunto, not beinge of the said Guild or Company . . . of Weavers, shall be contributorie, beare and paye unto the said Bayliffes all such reasonable somes of money for taxes, tallages and other imposicions aswell ordinarie as extraordynarie as shalbe thought good and reasonable to be assessed upon him or them by the Bayliffes, Wardens and Assistauntes of the said Guyld . . . ." And Art. 45, p. 305: "Item whereas by severall Statutes and ordynaunces made by authorytie of Parliament in the firste yere of kinge Richard the Thirde, and in the xiiijth, xxjth and xxxijth yeres of kinge Henry the Eight yt appereth amongst other thinges that the governement of Alyens beinge handycraftesmen and Artificers, their Servaunts and Apprentices, and the reteyninge of them and also their wares, is ordered and appoynted to be within the viewe, searche and reformacion of the Wardens and others of the Companie wherof they are Artificers. And also that all Straungers borne beinge Artificers shoulde paye all suche and like duties and charges as the Subjectes borne in this Realme, beinge of the same Art or Mysterie do use to paye."

the Court of Assistants in 1585 subjected refugees to further regulation: no aliens were to be admitted to the Company unless they had served the required apprenticeship and paid all dues imposed upon them. It was further declared to be the intention of the Company to "avoid and remove" all people who wove in the liberties without becoming members of the gild.[20] In spite of these threats, however, refugees continued to disregard the demands of the Company, and soon, after the excitement had subsided, enforcement of the decrees was neglected—until complaints resulted in the investigation of the situation in 1590 by a committee of aldermen, which found that "the number of strangers, masters of the same art are greatly increased, by reason that they are not admitted nor kept under the government of the said gild."[21] Nevertheless, the report went on to say, the refugees must be allowed to settle and follow their trades anyway, "in these times of troubles in foreign parts." One sees the influence of the livery and the great merchants in this ineffectual action against the exiles.

Special attention was paid to the taking of apprentices by aliens, for the native weavers did not intend to let slip the opportunity of learning the tricks of the trade that the refugees brought with them. Soon after the middle of the century the Weavers' Company ruled that "it shall not be lawful for any foreign brother of the said Company being a master and an householder from henceforth to take any apprentice into his service without the knowledge and consent of the Bailiffs and Wardens of the said Company for the time being and their Assistants."[22] In 1568 it was reported that "the Wardens of the Weavers did this day here agree and grant diligently to endeavour themselves to send unto and appoint if they can two apt and witty young men of their occupation to serve for the time and space of three years now next ensuing the Stranger in Bridewell, who setteth up there the work and occupation of making tick for feather beds."[23] Later, in 1589, three ordinances were made for strangers and foreigners:

1. That noe person of our Guild shall kepe above twoe Forreine Jorneymen, English or Stranger, at one time, for that noe Forreine Jor-

20 *Ibid*, I, 142; App. 20, pp. 309-10.
21 Quoted *ibid.*, I, 143.
22 Quoted *ibid.*, I, 137.
23 *Ibid.*

neyman shalbe admitted a Master before they have wrought as a Servant the space of seaven yeares.

2. That noe Stranger not beinge denizon shall keepe above the number of Three Loomes in his house.

3. That noe Englishe Forreyner of our Guilde or denizon shall kepe above the number of Foure Loomes in his house, Tenne shillinges a moneth forfeite for every Loome kept contrarie to this order.[24]

All these regulations on apprenticeship were directed to the same ends—namely, to insure that alien preponderance in the industry did not become too great, and to see that native workmen were instructed in the methods and skill of the foreigner.

The only trouble was that the refugees did not abide by these manifold restrictions on their economic activity. They worked as many looms and took as many apprentices as they wanted, and they continued to weave their cloth outside the gild. Sporadic attempts to enforce the laws and ordinances had little effect, because the refugees were in the direct line of economic development in England. They were riding on the current that was running ever more swiftly toward the huge industrial revolution of a later epoch. The trickle was becoming a torrent, and before the onrushing waters the ancient structure of English economy was crumbling. Not so, however, thought the small masters and journeymen. However much the great merchant-men and industrial capitalists, the rulers of the livery, either consciously or unconsciously worked toward a transformation of the system, vociferously these small men clamored against the changes, and nowhere more loudly than in London, and in London no more insistently than in the Weavers' Company. The most obvious targets for the complaints were the refugees, and hence it was against these folk that most of them were directed. In 1568 there was filed a suit in the Exchequer against two alien weavers, John Forte and Nicholas Larshie,[25] whom the Weavers charged with meddling in the art of weaving in the house of Edward Bowen, "at that time not being of the gild."[26] Pleading that, since Bowen was a freeman of London, any man had the right to practice any craft in his house, the strangers sought to vindicate their work; but the Weavers won the case.

24 *Ibid.*, 311, Appendix 21. Cf. Cross, *History of . . . Canterbury*, 188.

25 *Kirk, Returns of Aliens*, X3, 393, 1568: In "St. Antolins Payrshe" of "Cordewaynerstrete Warde" were "John Forte and Nicholas Larse, Frenchemen, and seruantes with Edward Bower; thei goe to the French churche."

26 Consitt, *The London Weavers' Company*, I, 139.

Other examples of conflict might be given, but one of the most important was that disturbance that grew out of the complaint of the yeomen weavers against the strangers in 1595.[27] Fifteen young journeymen, led by a weaver named Willington, drew up an appeal, which they had printed by Gabriel Simpson to the number of forty copies. They planned to deliver eleven each to the French and Dutch churches and one each to the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen. After a recitation of the hospitality extended to the refugees, the English made four main charges: (1) they kept too many apprentices and loomes; (2) they taught their art to some of their countrymen who were not weavers before; (3) they set women and maids to work; and (4) they gave out their trade secrets to the clothiers, who were now driving a hard bargain with all the workers; they also undercut the English by taking lower wages. "And thus, like the envyous man, they care not to picke out one of their owne eyes that their neighbour might lose both his." Besides, they went hawking their wares over the city, sometimes even the wares of their friends in Norwich and other refugee centers, so that the market was

27 Printed *ibid.*, I, 312 ff.; a portion follows:

"Foure thinges we are to charge them withall whereby they bringe miserie upon us and noe good to themselves.

1. First, many of them kepe Apprentices and Loomes twyce or thryce as many as they ought whereby such an intollerable multitude of workemen are growne, that nowe one is not able to live by another.

2. Secondly, they doe not refuse to teache their Countrymen, which new come over, the Arte of Silke weaveinge, though before they were a Taylor, a Cobler, or a Joyner, and theis alsoe by and by take houses and kepe as many Servants as the rest. . . .

3. Thirdly, they sett Wooemen and Maydes at worke, whoe, when they are become perfect in the Occupacon doe marry with men of contrary trade, and soe bringe that which should be our lyvinges to be the mainteynaunce of those that never deserved for it, and theis likewise increase an infinite number.

4. Fourthly, they have opened and discovered the secrets of our Occupacon to their worke Maisters, that nowe they are growne as Cunninge in any worke as ourselves, and by this meanes have we alsoe ben made stande and drudge unto them, to labour and toyle all the weeke for a morsell of bread, insoemuch as it is growne to be a proverbe amongst them—That if Silkeweavers will kepe themselves true, the Silkemen will kepe them poore enough—and they have nothing failed to fulfill this proverb . . .

Nowe, after the poore Freeman hath toyled all the weeke, thinking on Satterday to sell that which he hath made therewith to buye his Sundaies dynner and other necessaryes, he whoe was brought up in the Cittye, served many yeares to have the pryviledge thereof, whoe is alsoe sworne to all manner of Charges, whoe payes all dutyes belongeinge to a Subject, being both himself and all that he hath readye to doe the Queene and the Cittye service, when he Cometh with his worke, alas, he cometh too late; the Straunger hath supplyed his roome, and therefore, as he came forth soe he maye goo home, with a heavye and a sorrowfull harte, for the Canterbury and Sandwich brokers have put his nose, as the proverbe is, quite out of joynte. . . ."

cloyed. There were, moreover, alien merchants who smuggled goods into England from the Continent. "And thus we nourish Serpentes in our bosomes who stinges us to the very harte." Further arguments based on the Scriptures and the example of the "well governed Cittye" of Geneva served only to drive home the points that had already been made. The refugees, apparently somewhat annoyed by this complaint, complained for their own part to the Lord Mayor, who had the three ringleaders among the yeomen and the printer cast into jail. Some time later, with the assistance of Sir John Popham, to whom the imprisoned weavers had appealed,[28] they were released. The affair was finally settled by the Aldermen, who drew up new ordinances, 1596, which tended to favor the natives.[29]

So far the discussion has been limited to the Weavers' Company of London. There were many other organizations, however, in the great metropolis with which the refugees came into contact, and many other conflicts, both legal and violent, that arose from those relationships. A "Complaynt of the Cytizens of London against the great number of strangers in and about this cytty" was submitted in 1571. Two types of aliens were found to be obnoxious: merchants and handicraftsmen.[30] The whole petition was based on prohibitory statutes of earlier kings of England, and emphasized a return to the *status quo ante*. Other general complaints were made from time to time[31] But most of the objections came from particular interested groups who felt that their privileges were being undermined or that their interests were being threatened by the influx of strangers. Sometimes the opposition was passive, as was the case with the London Drapers, who, being asked by the Lord Mayor to buy the wares of the refugees in order that their products might be disposed of, answered in excuse that they already had a good stock, but that they would buy the aliens' wares and stores anyway if the latter were not selling so cheaply that the Drapers could not meet their prices.[32] More often,

28 *Ibid.*, I, 152; 316-17, App. 22. *Remembrancia*, II, 451, No. 98 (letter from the Lord Mayor to the Lord Treasurer, June 27, 1595).

29 *Ibid.*, I, 318-21, App. 23.

30 Quoted in Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, I, 308-310.

31 Cf. e.g., *Remembrancia*, I, Nos. 53, 507; III, No. 19; and Strype, *Annals*, IV, 234 (No. CVII of the Appendix).

32 A. H. Johnson, *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (Oxford, 1914-22, 5 vols.), II, 139; cf. Cunningham, *Alien Immigration*, 159.

however, the opposition took a more active although not necessarily violent form. In a petition of 1569 the Basket-Makers' Company complained against aliens who were exercising that trade outside the gild.[33] The presence of refugee basket-makers, indeed, was the main reason for the statement of policy in the Ordinances of 1569. The Company of Pewterers reported in 1583 that there were no aliens of that trade registered with them, "but there is a Frenchman, [whose] name is hereunder written dwelling in Saincte Matius le Graunde within this Citie, and doth there exercise and vse the said trade and crafte of Pewterers," gilding the vessels and selling them "to the great deceipte of her Majesties subiectes." Although gently requested to obey the laws, "hys aunsweare hath most contemptuousle bene that he hath not to do with her Highnes or her lawes."[34] The Cordwainers' Company complained in 1576 and 1578 of the large number of refugees who were following the trade of shoemaking and had penetrated their Company.[35] Then the Bakers' Company lamented that there were so many non-citizen bakers, most of them refugees. In the time of Mary the Privy Council had had cause to write to the Lord Mayor enclosing a petition from foreign bakers protesting against injuries done them.[36] During the reign of Elizabeth the Bakers' Company was much concerned to see that alien bakers did not encroach on English trade, especially the retail business.[37] Much opposition also came from the Goldsmiths' Company, which insisted on the formality of letters and testimonials from all prospective goldsmiths, and which was deeply concerned over the dispersion of members of the trade, especially alien ones, in London outside the time-honored habitat of goldsmiths, Cheapside and Lombard Street.[38]

Not all of the opposition took the relatively innocuous form of petitions and counter-petitions. At times patience wore thin,

33 Henry C. Bobart, *Records of the Basketmakers' Company* (London, 1911), 10.
34 Cf. Kirk, *Returns of Aliens*, X2, 309.
35 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 227, n. 3. According to Unwin, *Guilds and Companies*, 250, the membership of the Company in 1599 was divided into the following groups: members in livery, 28; yeomanry, 152; cobblers free of the Company, 85; cobblers free in some other sense, 32; cordwainers free of other companies, 11; foreigners or aliens living in liberties outside the city, 131.
36 *Acts of the Privy Council*, V, (1554-56), 360, Sept. 25, 1556.
37 Thrupp, *Bakers of London*, 62.
38 Evans, "Huguenot Goldsmiths," 500-501. Cf. also W. S. Prideaux, *Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company* (London, 1896, 2 vols.), I, 48, 53, 65, 82, 89, for information on the testimonials.

especially in the ranks of the yeomen, who saw their livelihood being grasped from their hands by the intruding refugees. As early as the time of King Edward VI some five or six hundred men complained to the Lord Mayor that too many aliens had been admitted, causing a great dearth. If no remedy were forthcoming, their declared intention was to kill the intruders.[39] In the year 1573 the Lord Mayor found it necessary to address the masters and wardens of the gilds on the subject of molestation of refugees, ordering them to see that no further trouble was given them.[40] Although numerous outbreaks of minor proportions occurred throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century, the most spectacular was the disturbance of 1593, when apprentices and journeymen, after Parliament had rejected a bill against the refugees, decided that they would get by force what was refused them by process of law. What happened is described by a report in the *Acts of the Privy Council*:

> A letter to Sir R. Martin, etc., there have bin of late divers lewd and malicious libells set up within the citie of London, among the which there is some set uppon the wal of the Dutch churchyard that doth excead the rest in lewdness, and for the discoverie of the author and publisher thereof her Majestie's pleasure is that some extraordinarie paines and care be taken by the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Maiour for th'examining such persons as maie be in this case anie waie suspected.[41]

Finally, in 1595 there were riots against the refugees in Southwark, which were put down by force by the Lord Mayor, upon a plea from the elders of the two large foreign churches.[42]

For protection against this opposition, both legal and violent, the refugees sought the aid of the government from time

39 Lipson, *Economic History*, III, 58; Smiles, *The Huguenots*, 97-98.

40 Charles M. Clode, *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist, London* (London, 1888, 2 vols.), I, 232. Sir Lionel Duckett, Lord Mayor, Mar. 9: "As some complaynte hathe ben made that the strangers abydynge wthin this citie and the liberties thereof have been of late molested and evyll entreated goynge in the streates abowte their busynes by servants and apprentices undescretly and wthoute order. . . ," therefore they were ordered to "cause all ur Companye to be called together at ur Cõẽn Hall, and to exacte and also strongly to charge all yor saide Companye that" they no longer molest aliens, "but shall quietly suffer them to pursue without lett or vexation upon payne of disfranchisement."

41 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XXIV (1592-93), 222, May 11, 1593. Cf. 187, 200. Cf. also G. B. Harrison, *The Elizabethan Journals* (New York, 1939, 3 vols. in 1), I, 236; Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 254. One placard read: "You strangers that inhabit this land! Note this same writing, doit understand, conceive it well for safety of your lives, your goods, your children and your dearest wives."

42 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 254..

to time in petitions of their own. One such petition appeared in 1560, when they were being annoyed by some who, under pretense of an old law that forbade anyone to rent a house to an alien, were seeking to prevent their following or taking a trade. They did not believe the Queen meant to enforce that old law, because that would make useless all the former benefits that had been conferred on them.[43] More than once the refugee candlemakers had to petition the Privy Council to free them from the molestation of certain "informers" who sought to interfere with their trade and business.[44] In 1594 a sort of blanket petition was sent by the Dutch church in London to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, in which the refugees complained that many different trades were being interfered with: silk twisters, thread dyers and twisters, bakers, candlemakers, tailors. Information was given about each of these trades, especially with regard to its benefit to the community.[45] This plea met with success finally, although action came only after a year had passed. Then in 1599, after the death of Lord Burghley, native merchants together with the Lord Mayor went against the refugees, even to the extent of forbidding them to exercise their trades within the city, and ordering them to cease all their work under pain of imprisonment and to enter the Companies.[46] Immediately, as they had done before, the exiles petitioned the Queen, rehearsing their privileges and the story of the informers, and asked for a "finall and absolute order" against further

43 Hessels, *Archivum*, II, 126, No. 40, Jan. 29, 1560: "Welc toelaten nochtans ende vergunnen des Tempels weynich voorderlyc den vremdelingen soude syn, in dien haer daer en tusschen geen vryheit om te woonen, ende om haere neringhe te doen soude toeghelaeten worden." Latin version, p. 135, No. 43: "Que sanè templi permissio concessioque, parum Peregrinis ipsis esset profutura, si nulla interim habitandi, nulláque exercendorum opificiorum suorum libertas eis simul permitteretur." Cf. Schickler, I, 97 f., whose study says the date is *June* 29, 1560.

44 In 1592 a stay was granted against proceedings against the candlemakers until the informers had been investigated. Cf. *Acts of the Privy Council*, XXII (1591-92), 506-08, June 2, 1592, letter to Sir Henry Killigrue, *et al.;* Hessels, III, 939-940, No. 1241, May 24 [June 3], 1592, the Lord Treasurer to the Queen's Remembrancer. Then in 1599 again, sixteen Dutch candlemakers petitioned the Privy Council for protection, especially against one John Symes, who "hath most maliciously and greeuously vexed and molested from one Courte to another and caused some of them to bee committed to Newgate." Hessels, III, 1034-35, No. 1433, Mar., 1598 [1599]. The answer of the P. C. ordering a stay is *ibid.*, 1035-36, No. 1434, Mar. 7, 1598 [Mar. 17, 1599]. Cf. Strype, *Annals*, IV, 492, App. CCLXI.

45 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, No. 1330, for the petition.

46 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 255.

trouble again.[47] This order was forthcoming in April of that year.

An interesting comparison may be made between the refugee colonies of London and those of Norwich. Although the aliens who came over in the time of King Edward III did not settle to any great extent at Norwich, the town soon became the center for the manufacture of worsted, reaching a high degree of prosperity in the fourteenth century.[48] In the sixteenth century, owing to a number of factors—plague, Yarmouth a staple town, fire, gild oppression, competition from the Low Countries —business declined noticeably. The result of these conditions, as has been seen, was the appeal for introduction of refugee craftsmen. In their expectation of improvement from the coming of these folk the magistracy of Norwich was amply rewarded. In the latter half of the century prosperity again smiled upon the city, and the cloth trade again rose to prominence. As at London, however, regulation was the order of the day. "Nowhere was the control of civic authorities over the gilds more complete than at Norwich."[49] Regulation here, then, was exercised through the gilds, but by the city magistrates. The lengthy Book of Orders, 1571, set down a complete formula for the exercise of the weavers' trade and for relations with aliens.[50] The Privy Council wrote to the refugees there to accept the orders without repining. In 1573 restrictions on their use of foodstuffs were ordered, apparently because of a general dearth. In making woolen goods they were forbidden to use "sweete barrelled butter," but only "ciuyll oyl" or "whale butter." No alien baker was allowed to bake

47 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 1037-38, No. 1441, April, 1599, the petition. Cf. II, No. 263, another petition, and No. 264, the reply from the Privy Council, dated April 29, 1599 (O.S.), in which the Lord Mayor was commanded to "forbear to go forward."

48 Lipson *Economic History*, I, 489. This statement is not in agreement with the interpretations of Moens, *Norwich*, 2, and W. Hudson, "Sketch of the Commercial History of Norwich till the Introduction of the Foreign Refugees in the Time of Queen Elizabeth," HSL*Proc.*, II (1887-88), 522, who, following Blomefield's history of Norwich, attribute the development directly to the alien immigration ("all which prosperity had been caused by the woolen trade established by the Netherlanders" — Blomefield). No doubt there was at least an indirect connection. Lipson's judgment is the more seasoned.

49 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 373.

50 Cf. Moens, *Norwich*, 255-261, App. XVIII.

"anye manner of whight breade at all, but onelye breade of meale, as doth come from the mylle . . . provided allways that suche as wyll eate white breade maye buye it at the Inglishe bakers onelye."[51] No alien could buy "anye victuall in the market to endamadge or offende anye inhabitaunt." Further restriction came next year, when the assembly ordered that no alien should sell on the street any "aquavite" made by them, and that they "shall not resorte to anye inn or tiplinge howses" to drink on Sunday or holy days.

As at London, so at Norwich, regulation and restriction were not the only aspects of the refugees' relations with their hosts. Opposition developed soon after their arrival. Apparently the limitation on the tippling of "aquavite" was not the first time such measures had been deemed necessary, for in 1567 complaints were expressed that "the moste dysordered persons walked late in the streets of the citye dronken and of greate dysorder."[52] An order was therefore sent out to the effect that "neyther you nor anye of you shall be fownde walkynge in the streetes after the eight of the clocke bell shalbe ronge in the churche of Saynt Peter of Mancrofte." Lest it be concluded, however, that the refugees were a dissolute lot, the testimony of the Mayor in 1569 to their good behavior offers a striking contrast to the orders quoted above: they "do lyve in good quiete and order, and . . . they traveyle diligently to earne their lyvings."[53] But the favor shown them by the Queen and the great increase in their numbers aroused considerable discontent among the natives. It thus came about that a plot was hatched to raise up against the intruders, by means of trumpet and drum at Harleston Fair next, a crowd of men to expel them. The secret was given out, however, and the leaders were taken and imprisoned.[54] Complaints against the refugees on grounds of competition were received from the Tailors' Gild, from the English shearers, from the butchers and smiths and from the cordwainers.[55] Another type of complaint came from the Englishmen who said that the refugees had refused to teach them their crafts. In 1576, on the other hand, an agreement was entered

51 *Ibid.*, 37.
52 *Ibid.*, 20. Quotations are from the Dutch and Walloon Book.
53 *Ibid.*, 27.
54 *Ibid.*, 27, taken from Blomefield.
55 *Ibid.*, 37.

into between a refugee bay-weaver and a young Englishman, whereby the latter was to become apprentice for six years, during that time to be supported by the weaver and taught the art of bay-weaving.[56] Still another ground for complaint was that of the "companie of the art of mysterie of alebrewers and berebrewers within the cittie of Norwich," who reported that refugees set up ale and beer-brewing as soon as they arrived in the city and sold their product at retail. The result of this representation was an order "that no fforrener or forreners com'ing or resorting to inhabitt within the same cittie shall from and after the seid ffeast of St. Michaell Tharchangell sett upp the art or mysterie of brewing of ale or bere within the seid cittie or suburbs of the same."[57]

An extremely interesting form of opposition by natives was employed by the gild journeymen and apprentices of Norwich in 1610, when enforcement of laws on apprenticeship by aliens had become unduly lax. They called a strike—but this was not an ordinary strike! In the characteristic sixteenth century fashion they organized another gild, established with the specific purpose of implementing a strike against their masters and the municipal authorities until the proper enforcement was given the laws dealing with alien apprenticeship. Here again it appears as if the masters, the rulers of the craft, were leagued with the magistrates in refusing to enforce against the refugees the laws upon which the smaller masters and the workmen placed so much stress. The situation seems to have been the same as that at London, where the livery of the great Companies followed a policy of friendliness to the strangers, while the journeymen, yeomen, and apprentices exerted themselves to the utmost in opposition. In this case at Norwich, they declared "that neither Mr. Mayor nor their Maist-ers should bring them to their worke againe untill such tyme there were some order taken that such that hath not bin prentyce to the trade . . . as well strangers as Englishe were suppressed."[58] Unfortunately for their plans the purpose was found out and the magistrates, together with the Privy Council, suppressed the strike as seditious.

56 Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, I, 302.
57 Moens, *Norwich*, 81, quoting the Assembly Book.
58 Nef, *Industry and Government*, 40.

3. Refugees and the Gilds in England

John Strype was of the opinion that the "better sort" of people were kind to the refugees, that it was "divers of the common people and rabble" who grudged at their coming, calling them "French dogs."[59] Many of the common people indeed did vilify them; but Strype's "better sort," who would never think of calling names, nevertheless were not above getting in a dig at the exiles, if it suited their purpose to do so—as, for example, the Marquess of Winchester, who sold part of the London Dutch refugees' church right out from under them—or rather from over them, since the trouble had to do with the steeple.[60] In other words, opposition came from different groups and different classes, according to the degree to which they were inconvenienced or interfered with. Whenever a gild or other economic group perceived in the refugees a rival or a competitor, then conflict developed, opposition arose, and usually some form of regulation was imposed.

When attention is turned from London and Norwich to the whole of England, the truth of the foregoing remarks is immediately apparent. Almost universally opposition arose and regulation developed, sometimes with respect to the Queen's licenses, and sometimes in violation of their spirit if not their letter. The primary purpose of this regulation was to make a specified place in English economy for the industry of the refugees, in which they could exercise their trades with the least interference in native enterprise. Hence in many centers "halls" were set up for them, where they brought their products for search and seal and for market. This was true at Norwich, and likewise at Colchester, Canterbury, Sandwich, and other places. The most outstanding of all was the Dutch Bay Hall at Colchester. Here the refugees were practically in control of the cloth industry, and gave their name not only to the hall but to the products as well. A fully staffed administration tended to the multifarious duties of searching and sealing and regulating the sale of cloth.[61]

59 Strype, *Annals*, III, 251.

60 *Ibid.*, II, 175.

61 Courtauld, "East Anglia," 138. 2 governors and 22 assistants were elected annually by the entire Company. There were also 6 printers in the loom, 15 "raw-hallers" (who searched and sealed the material in its raw state), a keeper of the Raw-Hall with 2 assistants, a book-keeper of the Raw-Hall, 12 "white-hallers," a bailiff with 5 assistants, 10 "searchers of the tenters," 3 "provers of bays," and also "measurers of bays" and "high sealers of bays."

In 1590 a municipal ordinance in Canterbury required all merchandise offered for sale there to be brought to a special hall for searching and sealing.[62] Similar regulations were laid down at Sandwich. Besides all these general regulations, many special limtiations were placed on various aspects of alien activity.

In spite of these attempts to regulate refugee industry with the purpose of making it possible for the alien and the native to work without undue conflict, opposition did arise, in the provinces as well as in London itself. Public opinion tended to oppose the policy of the royal government, which gave privileged companies monopolies in certain fields: in 1601 Elizabeth was forced to revoke such special privileges, and James I had to give up the whole system. This made it difficult to provide necessary special dispensations in favor of the refugees, and called forth bitter opposition.[63] Besides this there were other reasons for native dislike of aliens: encroachment on privileges granted to them already, jealousy of strangers' prosperity, objection to their engaging in retail trade, their great numbers, discomfort and inconvenience caused, and, perhaps most important of all, the general economic strains and conflicts in England during that period, for which the refugees made an excellent scape-goat. The encroachment idea prevailed in complaints at Sandwich in 1569, during the course of which year the aliens were ordered at least three times to cease such activities of theirs as went beyond the grants.[64]

Jealousy was the central feature of the troubles at Halstead. The experience of this town was very clearly one of short-sighted selfishness, followed by remorse after the departure of the refugees. A number of families of bay-makers had moved from Colchester in the expectation of escaping the crowded conditions that prevailed there. They flourished, and were said to have made better bays than those made by the natives, who thereupon became jealous of the newcomers' prosperity. They petitioned Walsingham to force the refugees to join them in sealing the bays, thus putting the same stamp on all the cloth. Walsingham, apparently unaware of the difficul-

62 Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 282, n. 2.

63 G. Renard and G. Weulersse, *Life and Work in Modern Europe, from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1926), 74.

64 Dorman, "Notes," 222, 223, 224.

ties involved, ordered the justices of the peace to arrange the matter; but the Netherlanders refused point-blank, alleging that nowhere else were strangers forced to submit to this requirement.[65] This was in 1568, and the affair was not pressed. But two years later natives began to counterfeit the Dutch seals, and other distasteful circumstances plagued the refugees—so much so that they determined to return to Colchester. This they did, in spite of all remonstrance from the Privy Council, down to the very natives who had driven them out, and in spite of their own great regret, for they had thought of Halstead as "one of the most convenientest townes in England for their trade."[66] No subsequent attempts to lure Colchester weavers back had the slightest chance of success.

The participation of exiles in retail trade was one of the very sore points in native-alien relations. In 1581 a letter was sent by the Privy Council to Lord Cobham anent the grievances of refugees at Sandwich, and especially against "a decree by them latelie made for the prohibiting of the said straungers, denizens and others, not to kepe anie outeward shoppe," nor to sell anything at retail; further a charge that the Mayor had violently entered the houses of the strangers and confiscated their goods, "whereat their Lordships doe not a little marvaille," for they knew not by what authority the Mayor had done these things.[67] After some further investigation[68] the Privy Council gave down an order settling the dispute, which first rehearsed the events that had led up to the conflict:

> Wheras uppon a Decree made the xxijth of Julie last by the Maiour and Jurattes of the towne of Sandwich that after Bartholomewe Daie next following no person, either stranger born or denison, not beinge a freeman within the towne, should use in the said towne anie other trade then the making of bayes, sayes, tapistrie, lace and fishinge, which by certaine Letters Patentes heretofore graunted by her Majestie were limited unto them, nor keepe anie open shoppe or outwarde shoppe, nor inwardely

65 Courtauld, "East Anglia," 139; cf. Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 213.

66 Cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 871-72, No. 1111, Halstead to the London Dutch Church, May 9 [19], 1588. They have decided to leave, but are in debt and wish to depart with honor. Hence they ask for help in paying their debts. Colchester has promised £13. Halstead folk sought for a return of refugees (Tawney, *Tudor Eco. Docs.*, I, 319, 321), but to no avail; and attempts to order refugees to go there from other centers likewise were without result (cf. Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 906-07, No. 1180, P. C. to the London Dutch Church, Mar. 31 [Apr. 10], 1590.

67 *Acts of the Privy Council*, XIII (1581-82), 277, Dec. 6, 1581.

68 *Ibid.*, 344, 364.

or outwardlie sell, barter, exchange, utter or retaile anie wares or merchaundises uppon a certen penaltie for everie weeke expressed in the same Decree, . . .

and then, mentioning the petition of the refugees, ordered that only those exiles could remain whose trades were permitted by the Letters Patent (of 1561), that no more were to be admitted, and that refugees should be allowed to

exercise the faculties of making of sayes, bayes, and suche like clothe or tapestrie as hathe not ben heretofore used to be made in this Realme, or use the trade of fishinge in the seas, and soche artes and misteries as appertein and are depending upon the said faculties, and not be retailours or shopkepers, and especiallie not use the misteries of tailours, shomakers, cobblers, coopers, masons or bricklayers, bakers, blacksmiths, shipwrightes and cowekepers; and, nevertheles,

recognizing that some poor folk would have no other means of support, the Privy Council allowed those in forbidden trades to continue in them until Whitsunday next.[69] In London and Colchester likewise rules were made forbidding aliens to keep open shops and to sell at retail.[70] And in 1592-93 a bill was introduced into Parliament that was intended to prohibit selling in retail by aliens.[71]

Still another basis for opposition to refugees was the charge that there were too many of them. Year after year attempts were made at Rye to restrict the number of immigrants; but each new persecution brought another influx of fugitives. A letter of 1586 bewailed the fact *"que le poisson quon a accoustume de porter de ce lieu la pour les prouisions de la Royne y est a present achette par lesdicts estrangiers de sorte que la maison de S. M. eu vient a estre despourueue."*[72] Canterbury

69. *Ibid.*, 369-374, Mar. 30, 1582.

70 For London: Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 852, 853, No. 1081, order by Lord Mayor and Aldermen, May 9 [19], 1587.

71 D'Ewes, *Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth*, 479: 35 Eliz., Mar. 1. On Mar. 23 (p. 508) there was discussion of "that weighty business of Aliens retailing of Foreign Wares," during which it was said that some 60 natives had been "undone" by the activities of the refugees, and that prices had been raised. "Moses said we should care for the Fatherless and widows, and must leave gleanings for them to glean. But shall we be put out to gleanings and give our Fields to them?" Then came up the ancient argument: Let us think first of our own country. Sir Walter Raleigh spoke in favor of the bill: They in the Netherlands were not nice to us; let us therefore return in kind. Lord Burghley then made a discreet defense of the exiles. Passed: p. 511; rejected in the Lords: p. 463.

72 Hessels, *Archivum*, III, 819-820, No. 1017, Walsingham to Robert de la Fontayne (pastor of the London Dutch Church), May 2 [12], 1586.

passed regulations limiting the number of aliens to be received in that town;[73] while the shrewd merchants of the town of Ipswich opposed the plan for establishing there a new market with the assistance of the exiles, fearing

> howe the ffleming that bye this newe marte towne, must be occasioned to habite more heare than before, w^th^ his wife and familye, and becom denizen or inter marrye w^th^ us and havinge his children borne under thallegeannce of the Quene, and bounde prentise at the marte towne . . . in tyme eate out the merchant adventure. . . .[74]

Lastly, a less fundamental cause for opposition was the discomfort and inconvenience that the presence of the refugees occasioned. Norwich was much troubled by the stranger dyers, whom the English dyers opposed on the ground of the right of "no alyan to die in blewe but in an Inglish dier his housse." The main objection, however, coming not from the dyers, but from the citizenry as a whole, was that the refugee weavers and finishers did so much washing and scouring of dyed and processed cloth in the river that it "doth gather such corruption that it cannot be used as in times past," and that the "whole ffysshe of ye ryver" were poisoned.[75] This was as nothing, however, compared to what the citizens of Southampton had to suffer: there it was alleged in 1589 that "Baltesor de Mastre and dyvers serge mackers" threw "theare fylthie soppie watter into the streets."[76] In 1602, moreover, John Hersant, an alien dyer, was charged with using "more water than will well serve a fowerth part of the towne." Heavy indeed were the burdens carried by the long-suffering English hosts!

This brings the discussion of the relations of the English with the "French dogs" to an end. Much of it has been a sorry story, full of narrow-mindedness and self-interest. Fortunately, it is not the whole story, as may be seen from one or two examples taken from a large collection of evidence supporting the beneficial effect of the refugees upon the communities in which they settled. Even in those intolerant days there lived some folk who regretted the inhospitality of some of their countrymen, and sought to teach them the true value of friendliness to the oppressed and mercy to the persecuted. George

73 Cross, *History of . . . Canterbury*, 35.
74 Redstone, "Ipswich," 186.
75 Moens, *Norwich*, 79 f.
76 *Victoria County Histories, Hampshire*, V, 486.

Abbot was one such high-minded man, a lecturer at Oxford. Strype reports him as saying in one of his morning lectures:

> How that it grieved his soul at the unkindness of our nation, (those of the common sort,) that had, by occasion of the handling of their last great massacre, noted it to posterity, that by a most inhospitable kind of phrase, our English used to term them no better than *French dogs,* that fled hither for religion, and their conscience sake. To which the preacher joined also the many conspiracies, which by some of the meaner people in one city of this land, [London] had been oftentimes intended against outlandish folks . . . But those, said he, that were wise and godly, used those aliens as brethren: holding it an unspeakable blessedness, that this little island of ours should not only be a temple to serve God in for ourselves, but an harbour for the weatherbeaten, a sanctuary to the stranger, wherein he might truly honour the Lord; remembering the precise charge which God gave to the Israelites, to *deal well with all strangers*; because the time once was, when themselves were strangers in that cruel land of Egypt: and not forgetting, that other nations, to their immortal praise, were a refugee to the English in their last bloody persecution in queen Mary's days: and in brief, recounting, that by a mutual vicissitude of God's chastisements, their case might be our case.

Which day, he prayed, the Lord might long keep from us.[77]

According to contemporaries the story of the effect of the refugees upon the towns in which they settled ran much the same everywhere: first a melancholy tale of economic decay, then a joyful report on prosperity regained—a sequence that is well typified, after the well-known forms of commercial advertising, as the "before-and-after" course. This interpretation is of course rather superficial, yet it is true enough to merit consideration. To give only one example from the many illustrations available, the account of the experience of the town of Sandwich given by Hasted may be taken. He first explains the situation before the refugees:

> The haven being thus abandoned by the queen, and becoming almost useless, excepting to vessels of the small burthen before mentioned, the town itself would have before long have become impoverished and fallen wholly to decay, had it not been most singularly preserved, and raised again, in some measure, to great wealth and prosperity, occasioned by the persecution for religion in Brabant and Flanders. . . .

Here especially refugee gardeners brought many benefits,

77 Strype, *Annals,* II1, 252, quoting (with interpolations) from George Abbot, *Lectures upon Jonah.*

to the great advantage of this town by the increase of inhabitants, the employment of the poor, and the money which circulated; the landholders likewise had the great advantage of their rents being considerably increased, and the money paid by the town and neighborhood for vegetables, instead of being sent from hence for the purchase of them, remained within the bounds of it.[78]

The very same thing is reported to have occurred at Norwich, where a memorandum was made of "The benefittes receaved in Norwich by havying the strangers there."[79]

At last the discussion of the economic life of the refugees who settled in England is ended. It must not be supposed, however, that they constituted a group set off and isolated from their brother refugees on the Continent, in Germany, in Switzerland, in Holland. As these are discussed in turn, it will become clear that there were similarities as well as differences in the manner of life of each. Although geographical and social and political factors altered the conditions under which differ-

78 Hasted, *History of Kent*, X, 160, 161.

79 Moens, *Norwich*, 262, App. XIX:
"In primis they brought a grete comoditie thether, viz., the makinge of bayes, moccadoes, grograynes, all sorts of tuftes, &c., which were not made there before, wherby they do not onely set on worke their owne people but do also set on worke our owne people within the cittie as also a grete nomber of people nere xxti myles aboute the cittie, to the grete relief of the porer sorte there.

Item—by their meanes our cittie is well inhabited, and decayed housed reedified and repaired that were in rewyn and more wolde and now good rentes - - - paide for the same.

Item—the marchauntes by their comodities have and may have grate trade as well within the realme as withoute the realme beinge in good estimation in all places.

Item—it cannot be but whereas a nomber of people be but the one receyve comoditie of the other aswell of the cittie as men of the contrie.

Item—they be contributors to all paymentes as subcedies, taskes, watches, contribusions, mynisters, wagis, &c.

Item—our owne people do practice and make suche comodities as the strangers do make, whereby the youthe is set on worke and kepte from idlenes.

Item—they digge and delve a nomber of acres of grounde and do sowe flaxe, and do make it out in lynen clothe which set many on worke.

Item—they digge and delve a grete quantitie of grounde for rootes which is a grete succor and sustenaunce for the pore bothe for them selves as for all others of citie and contrie.

Item—they live holy of them selves withoute charge, and do begge of no man, and do sustaine all their owne poore people. And to conclude, they for the moste parte feare God, and do diligently and loborously attende upon their severall occupations, they obey all magistrates and all good lawes and ordynaunces, they lyve peaceablie amonge themselves and towarde all men, and we thinke our cittie happie to enjoye them.

ent communities lived, yet refugees wherever they could be found were refugees, confronted the same problems and made the same adaptations. Exiled threadmakers at Maidstone, farmers in the Duchy of Prussia, fishermen at Yarmouth, *Bursat-macher* at Frankfurt-am-Main—all these had bonds of common fellowship stronger than any forces of disintegration and separation brought to bear by environmental circumstances. Adversity builds bridges over the gulfs of time and space.

CHAPTER V

GERMANY: ECONOMIC LIFE

So ist die Stadt Hamburg auch von vielen Volck bewohnet, und sonderlichen vielen ausländischen, von vielen Niederländischen, welche sich mit Hauffen allda niedergelassen, und ihre Gewerb und Kauffmanschafft allda führen; ist ein schönes Volck, sonderlichen das Weibs-Volck, und hält sich sauber und prächtig in der Kleidung.

Description of a journey to Hamburg, 1590, by Michael Franck.

1. Status

The economic life of the refugees in Germany can be presented in smaller space, because in many respects it was similar to that of the exiles in England, of which an extensive survey has already been made. Since one of the most interesting features—and one of the most distinctive—of the Rhenish settlements has been reserved for treatment in the next chapter, the main task at present is the statement of the broad lines upon which the colonies in the Empire developed. First of all, the legal and political status.

As in England, so in Germany,[1] the various groups of exiles were granted upon their arrival certain terms of settlement by the several governmental authorities — but not by a political sovereign like Queen Elizabeth, and not by the Emperor. Rather the provisions were laid down by the relatively independent territorial princes and cities whose Protestant sympathies or economic policies led them to accept refugees as inhabitants. This considerably complicated affairs, since the terms granted by one prince were not at all the same as those given by another. Hence, in the German colonies a much more varied legal status prevailed than in England, where the central authority of the Crown established a general uniformity in the position of refugees. In cities, like Strasbourg, Frankfurt, and Cologne, the municipal council regulated admissions

1 This term is used throughout for the German part of the Empire, and the Duchy of Prussia.

and privileges; in counties and duchies, like the Palatinate and Cleve, the territorial prince determined the policy, although in those regions considerable diversity obtained. For example, the Palatinate counts followed their own desires in the settlement of exiles; but the Duke of Cleve more than once came into conflict with the interests of the towns, notably Wesel. In surveying the state of affairs in Germany it is not necessary to take each of the localities in turn. Rather, notice will be given only to the more important and interesting.

One of the earliest significant centers for refugee activity on the Continent was Emden, the chief city of East Friesland. Not until the arrival of the Dutch settlers from England in 1554, however, was a formal grant of privileges made by Countess Anna, and in 1575 a permanent establishment given by Count Johann. By these two generations of rulers a contract was finally obtained.[2] The city of Aachen, another early center, accepted exiles from the Netherlands because they would come *"wurseyen und arreschen zu machen, die sollten, sie die burgerskinder lehren."*[3] In optimistic anticipation of benefits, many privileges were conferred, although the magistrates later had cause to regret their generosity and revoke them. Much the same situation prevailed at Cologne.[4] More detailed information is available on the privileges and regulations at Wesel: in order that outside competition might be excluded, no half-finished cloth was to be brought into the city for finishing; native children were to be taught the cloth-making craft for a period of two years, etc.[5] Since the provisions for the settlements in Frankfurt, Frankenthal, and Hanau will receive attention in the next chapter, nothing need be said of them here. Most of the communities in the Palatinate area received definite charters, or "capitulations," from the Elector Frederick III and John Casimir. Such may be said of Otterberg, St. Lambrecht-Grev-

2 Pleines, "Die französisch reformirte Kirche in Emden," DHV*Gbl.*, I², 14: ". . . Demnach wollen wir dan nun nach tödlichem Abgange Wohlgeb. unser lieben Fraw Mutter gnädiglich gestatten u. krafft dieses vergunnen, u. zulassen, dass obgemeltten Welschen u. andre Nationen nun auch ferner ihren besondern Kirchen Diener gebrauchen mugen. Gegeben in Unser Stadt Embden am 28. December anno 1575."

3 Quoted in Simons, *Synodalbuch*, 15.

4 Cf. especially Simons, *Kölnische Konsistorial-Beschlüsse*, 13 ff., especially 18-20. Also Hans Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbes in Köln vom 13. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1907), 80, 83.

5 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 29.

enhausen, Frankenthal, Schönau, and Wetzlar. There were wide variations: some groups, like that at Wesel, were relatively limited in their freedom; while others, like Hanau, were greatly favored. In general it may be said that in certain respects, at least, the refugees in Germany enjoyed wider privileges than those in England. An example of this may be seen in the generous exemptions from taxes.

Consideration has already been given to the question of citizenship in England and Germany as it concerned the refugees. There is, however, one detail to be mentioned in connection with what in England was known as hostage: much the same practice prevailed in Strasbourg after 1567, when aliens were required to lodge with citizens, and were not allowed to keep houses of their own.[6] More significant is the matter of taxation. Information on the subject for Germany is much more limited than for England; but for Wesel at least the situation is much better, and it may be taken as an example. Much of the revenue of the city came from the fees charged for sealing cloth products made by the refugees. If the figures for 1547 are compared with those for later years, up to 1580, a general and rapid increase is noted until 1576, and an irregular decline thereafter.[7] The small income until 1570 was due to the religious troubles that hindered a development of business. The most significant rise came in 1575 and after, when the yearly income rose from ten or twenty gulden to about one hundred twenty. Other activities in which the refugees engaged showed a similar, if not so spectacular, rise. In summary the total increase in the revenue of the city of Wesel in

6 Erichson, *L'église française de Strasbourg*, 44.

7 Figures as given in Sarmenhaus, *op. cit*, 32:

1547	6 gg.	5 alb.	4 heller
1549	11	6	4
1555	6	6.5	
1556	12	22	
1570	22	23	
1575*	132	10.5	
1576*	250	7	
1578	134	12	
1579	98	8	
1580	118	1	

*For these two years the figures are cumulative.

the sixteenth century, largely owing to the refugees, is shown by the following table:[8]

1534	6575 gg.	1550	9280 gg.	1570	17156 gg.
1540	6928	1555	10470	1580	21541
1545	8136	1560	17435		

These figures show what effect the refugees in one community had upon the prosperity of that town. Unfortunately, material on other groups is very limited; but more will be said on taxation in the next chapter, which deals with Frankfurt, Frankenthal, and Hanau. One interesting difference between the English and the Continental position of the refugees is that, whereas in England a fairly clear division can be drawn between the political and the purely economic aspects of their relations with the natives, on the Continent the two aspects are much less easily separable. For this reason the question of opposition to the exiles from the government as distinguished from the opposition from individual natives and industrial organizations will be treated in the last section of this chapter.

2. Means of Support

The means of support used by the refugees in Germany were much the same as those of the English exiles. Not only in trades, but also in church maintenance and subsidies, the situation on the Continent reproduced in general lines the English set-up. On the other hand, differences of detail were numerous, and in certain spheres definite contrasts appear.

First of all, in the matter of trades and occupations, textile workers again were the largest group. Even here, however, an exception must be made in the case of the Dutch refugees in Prussia, who were for the most part farmers. But these settlements must be considered as outlying cases, in no way affecting the German situation as a whole. It was the weavers of bombazines and lace, silks and says, the wool-combers and fullers, the dyers and finishers of cloth, who comprised the majority of refugees in Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Wesel. Two of the most important centers for the production of textiles were Wesel and Hamburg, which will be presented in turn.

It is significant that the first refugees to appear in Wesel

8 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 45.

were three serge weavers from Hainault,[9] and that the Confession of Faith submitted by them and others who followed next year was given the following heading: *La confession des wallons qui sont venus en la ville de Wezele a cause de levangile, et pour avoir prescheur en leur langue, et aussy pour mettre sus deux stilles asscavoir la saytrie et la haulte lisse avec les aultres servantz a yceulx.*[10] The city built a working place for their guests, furnished five large dye kettles and a horse, and in other ways sought to induce them to settle permanently.[11] Wesel is a good example of a refugee center where numerous types of cloth, most of them new—at least in name—were made: the so-called *Trippen* (mockado), *Worsett* (or *Burass* or *Bursat,* worsted), *Caffa* (capha), etc.[12] Alongside the *Trippen* industry the refugees brought the making of bombazine, a new name for twilled silk cloth originally made in Upper Italy. It came to denote a smooth fabric made with a silk warp and a cotton woof.[13] Although there is no direct evidence that the refugees first introduced this cloth, the numerous references to it that occur after they came, contrasted to the silence on the subject before their arrival, would indicate a close connection. Most of the early wardens were Netherlanders; but many natives entered the trade before long. A third type of cloth was lace, of which the first mention comes in 1578. It is clear that this industry was introduced by the exiles.[14] In addition to the making of these different kinds of cloth there were also the necessary accessory trades of cloth shearing, dyeing, and finishing. Large numbers of cloth shearers came to Wesel in the years 1566 and 1567, and were granted easy entrance into the newly established gild. A great increase in the revenue received by

9 Cuno, "Wesel," DHV*Gbl.*, V2-4, 3.

10 *Ibid.*, 5: In 1545 Buscoducensis (Bruchhofen) wrote to Melanchthon and others: "Es seindt auch etzliche Franzosen umb der verfolgung willen zu uns anher kohmen, welche der Rath angenohmen, werden alhie geduldet, und arbeiten zu handwergk und wirgken der Materien, so man uf unsere sprach nennt woestätten und tripen, das ist halb leinen und halb wollen; dieser Franzosen bekenthnis und Confession thue Ich Euch hiemat auch überschicken."

11 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 28.

12 The identification of many of these fabrics made on the Continent is exceedingly difficult, since many of them are no longer made, and since their equivalents in English types are very rarely mentioned.

13 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 35. There was also bombazine with linen warp and woolen woof.

14 *Ibid.*, 39.

the city from this business continued till 1570, the high point, and 1576, another peak, after which a decline set in.[15] In 1564 the Council gave permission to a Netherlander for the establishment of a dye plant, and was generous in the privileges bestowed on him and others of his trade. Finally, refugees at Wesel participated, although to no great extent, in the linen industry.

Another interesting development in the cloth industry took place at Hamburg. The Hamburgian equivalent of the three weavers of Wesel is found in the petition of Hermann Rodenborch, from Antwerp, in 1569, asking for permission to exercise his trade of *Trippen*-making and the following privileges: (1) the establishment of a fulling mill; (2) the right to finish cloth in his house and to take on as many helpers as necessary; (3) the privilege of selling his product by the ell as well as in the piece; (4) freedom from city taxes; and (5) freedom to leave when he wished.[16] The next indication of activity of refugees in the cloth industry is found in 1586, when Hermann Gancken and his family from Antwerp asked to be allowed *"die Kunst des Sayenmacherampts in dieser guten Stadt frei gebrauchen."*[17] A contract was concluded with the magistrates, giving to him extensive privileges, which became the basis for the trade until the Ordinances of 1613. These favorable regulations resulted in such a rapid advance in the trade *"durch den mildreichen Segen Gottes des Allmächtigen also zugenommen, gewachsen und gemehret, das es wol billig unter die vornembsten Aempter mitgezehlet werden mag."*[18] This is reflected in the record of the revenues derived from it.[19] In addition to the woolen manufacture carried on in Hamburg, there was brought by the refugees an extensive development of silk-mak-

15 *Ibid.*, 41, with supporting statistics.

16 Kurt Therkorn, "Gewerbegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur niederländischen Einwanderung in Hamburg im 16. Jahrhundert," unpublished thesis, Univ. of Hamburg, 1921, 38. He gives the date 1609, obviously a mistake. I was fortunate enough to obtain a microfilm copy of the typewritten manuscript on file in the University Library in Hamburg. It represents one of the few valuable *gewerbegeschichtliche* investigations of the refugees, as contrasted to the ordinary purely *kirchengeschichtliche* studies. Cf. Richard Ehrenburg, *Hamburg und England im Zeitalter der Königen Elisabeth* (Jena, 1896), 109. See below, p. 109 f., for the significance of this petition.

17 Quoted in Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 44.

18 *Ibid.*, 46.

19 *Ibid.*, 61.

ing. These cloths include *Trippen, Caffa,* velvet, and lace.[20] No large number of refugees were engaged in the lace-making work; but the *Trippen* industry was founded and dominated by the foreigners.[21] The significance of this situation will be brought out later. Besides the ordinary cloth manufacture there was considerable activity in the trades of hatmaking and feltmaking. These were not new industries, but had been known in Hamburg through the fifteenth century; but the exiles also engaged in the trades, worked alongside of the natives.[22]

Many other refugee communities followed the textile industry as their main business, but it is not necessary to list each one. Except for the cloth workers, the merchants were the most important group, at least in the maritime settlements. One such center was Emden, where the exiles were able to keep close connections with the homeland, especially with Antwerp.[23] All the articles of commerce that had been bartered through the Antwerp markets were now trafficked in at Emden. Both French and English refugees, moreover, traded with their respective countries. Among the different merchants, the grain dealers were the most outstanding, maintaining an organization that covered most of Europe.[24] The same developments may be perceived in the case of Hamburg, and especially Stade, which inherited much of the lucrative trade with the Iberian Peninsula formerly enjoyed by Antwerp.[25] Stade also possessed many refugees who were proficient in the textile trades, notably Gobelins, other tapestries and lace. The spirit prevalent at Hamburg in 1590 is shown by the quotation given at the head of this chapter.

Among the several trades that were well represented, but not particularly noteworthy, were the different metallurgical occupations, ranging from blacksmiths to goldsmiths. To Aach-

20 Therkorn would count *Trippen* among the silk cloths.

21 Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 79, 81.

22 *Ibid.*, 97 f., 100.

23 Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt,* Abh. III, 125. Cf. Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken,* 48.

24 A circle of merchants consisted of Johann Commelinus in Ghent, Philipp der Gardin in Amsterdam, and Nicolas du Gardin in Emden. The latter had an extensive trade with Lisbon. In 1566-67 a number of important merchants fled to Emden, among them the two leaders at Ghent, Commelinus and Jaques Laubegeois (for the last see Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel,* 213 f.).

25 Carl Sillem, "Die wallonische Gemeinde in Stade," DHV*Gbl.*, II6, 24.

en in the fifties came copper-workers from the Maas region.[26] In Wesel were numerous smiths and goldsmiths,[27] and the latter in Hamburg were among the best represented of all the refugees.[28] Other trades—and the list is very similar to the one for England—included shoemakers, bakers, brewers, cooks, watchmakers, carpenters, diamond-cutters, jewellers, clothiers, nailmakers, glassworkers, sailors, sugar-refiners, and many others.

In many respects extremely interesting were the colonies in the Duchy of Prussia and the Prussian part of Poland. Here, except for the groups in Danzig and Königsberg, the refugees were settled in rural areas, where agriculture was the chief occupation. One difficulty encountered was the fact that the Polish and Prussian regions were relatively undeveloped, while the exiles were accustomed to the well-developed Low Countries. For this reason, and because of the restrictions and differences of technique as between Holland and Prussia, the largest single activity undertaken by the Netherlanders was cattle raising.[29] It is not known whether they brought their livestock with them, or got them through Danzig after their arrival; but the latter is more likely, since trade in cattle with the Low Countries was not difficult from the Baltic port. It is doubtful whether or not they cultivated forage crops for their cattle to any great extent. They did, however, raise cereal crops after the Prussian custom: rye and wheat as winter, oats and barley as summer grains. Cattle were not the only animals kept by these peasant farmers: horses, hogs, and sheep found favor with them, as also hens, ducks, and other fowl.[30] Of manual trades and industries they knew little. Much more than the truck gardeners of England, settled at Sandwich and Norwich and other English towns, were these settlers in Prussia true agriculturalists. Duke Albrecht was especially interested in colonizing the rural areas of his possessions, only lukewarm about settlements in his cities. If the venture did not

26 Rud. A. Peltzer, "Geschichte der Messingindustrie und der künstlerischen Arbeiten in Messing in Aachen und den Ländern zwischen Maas und Rhein von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart," *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, XXX (1908), 305.

27 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 43.

28 Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 31 f.

29 Schumacher, *Niederländische Ansiedlungen*, 110-114.

30 Schumacher, *Ansiedlungen*, 117.

work out successfully, the reasons lay in the incompatibility of the way of farm life to which the Netherlanders had been accustomed in Holland with the rather firmly established traditional customs of Prussia. There were few or no well-developed agricultural regions, much waste land, and local restrictions. Beef and dairy products could be sold only in the nearest town or village, thus cut off the necessary markets in the cities, which were more distant.

Since the Netherlandish refugees, no matter where they fled, were of the same classes and possessed about the same amount of wealth, their economic and financial condition was about the same in all the countries. For the most part they were members of the petty bourgeoisie or lower classes, and many went into exile with little else than their own ability in one trade or another.[31] Here, as in England, moreover, there existed the same discrepancy in judgments on the wealth of particular groups: at one time they were adjudged poor, at another well-to-do. So in the case of Wesel on the one hand, the members of the group had left everything behind, were largely poor, and accepted a working place furnished them by the Council;[32] on the other hand both Wesel and Emden were cited by the refugees at Southampton as examples of the wealth and prosperity that had accrued to cities that had taken in religious exiles.[33] There is little doubt that the newly established colonies, such as Frankenthal and Hanau, flourished, since they began practically from nothing and developed into respectable towns.

In the matter of maintenance of church organization continental groups were not behind the English. Support for ministers and students was not different from the system set up by the English refugees, although the German colonies seemed to have more difficulty in finding a ready supply of either. The Synods of the refugee churches on the Continent took the matter into consideration, and made a proposal that a general levy

31 Compare here the situation in England.

32 Julius Heidemann, "Die Statuten des Wullenampts zu Wesel aus dem Jahre 1426," *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, IX (1873), 86.

33 Petition of refugees to Bp. of Winchester, Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 326.

be made on all the groups for the common support of the ministers and students.[34]

Of far greater interest is the organization of poor relief in the refugee churches in Germany. And here it is not so much the actual help given to individuals as the administration of the office in general that commands attention.[35] More than one group made notable and significant progress in this relatively undeveloped field of social welfare work. The refugees in Cologne, for example, were outstanding, and the ideal set before the medieval Christian, that the rich had to fulfil a duty toward helping their poor brothers and sisters in Christ was put into actual practice.[36] The deaconry was the center of the organization. Generally the deacons were divided into two kinds: those whose duty it was to receive alms for the poor and to distribute relief, and those who visited the sick and infirm.[37] At Emden the system was developed early and well: this refugee community became a model not only for other exile churches but for the native congregations at home.[38] Not only at Emden, but at the little colony in Goch as well, was the deaconry of importance. The Ordinances of 1570 begin their outline of the duties of the deacons in the following manner:

Die diakenen sullen tesaemen ende yeder besonder met alle vliet ende neersticheit arbeiden, om den armen, crancken ende nootdruftigen in der gemeente te versorgen, dat se geen gebreck en lijden, ende sullen in alle

34 H. Q. Janssen and J. J. van Toorenenbergen (eds.), *Acten van Classicale en Synodale Vergaderingen der verstrooide Gemeenten in het Land van Cleef, Sticht van Keulen en Aken, 1571-1589* (Utrecht, 1882. Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging, Ser. II, Deel II), p. 5, the Synod of Bedburg, 1571: "Is ten eerste voorghegheven vande Franckendael de andere gemeynten zijn voorghedragen gheweest. Als naemelijck van de ghemeyne contributie aller gemeynten tot onderhoudinge der Dienaren des Wordts ende Studenten int ghemeyne."

35 Numerous references might be cited for the facts of poor relief; but they are quite similar to those given for England.

36 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 272 f.: "Onder armenverzorging verstonden ze niet anders dan de hulp, die de rijker gezegende leden van het lichaam van Christus hadden te bewijzen aan hun broeders en zusters, wien minder aardsche guederen waren toebedeeld. En dat was niet alleen maar hun theorie, maar ook wel dagelijk hun practijk."

37 As, for example, in the protocol of the Synod of Wesel (quoted in Wolters, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Wesel*, 248): "Atqui in maioribus praesertim civitatibus Diaconorum duo genera instituti non erit alienum, quorum alii eleemosynis colligendis distribuendisque operam dabunt, et simul pauperibus bona legata si quae fuerint ea curae habebunt, ut rite ab haeredibus erogentur et legatariis fideliter distribuantur, 6. alii potissimum aegrorum, sauciorum captivorumque curam gerent. . . ."

38 See further Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 115-16, and Knappert, *Het Ontstaan en de Vestiging van het Protestantisme in de Nederlanden*, 293.

vermaningen tegenwoirdig syn, om dat gelt voer den armen te versaemelen, welcke gelt op die selve ure getelt sal worden, ende van beide diakens, off in afwesen eens diakens in presentie van een ut die ouderlingen, in een register gestelt, waer aff voer den consistorio alle drie maenden generale rekening dedaen sal worden.[39]

From this quotation it will be seen that the work of the deacons was well equipped with checks and balances which prevented any leakage in the poor fund. Most of the communities kept accurate accounts of receipts and expenditures connected with the poor fund.

One of the most remarkable developments took place in Hamburg-Stade. Here was the famous *Niederländischen Armenkasse,* founded in 1585 or 1586, an organization which helped poor men without regard to religion or nationality, and amazed the native Germans greatly in its care for indigent folk and for the sick and disabled and aged.[40] One of the parts of this organization was the office of *Ziekentrooster* (*Krankentröster, consolateur des malades*), established at least by 1590 by the refugee groups in Hamburg-Stade. It was not filled by persons of theological education, but by people of Christian charity who would take an interest in helping the sick in both their material and spiritual lives. The first to occupy the place was Jaques de la Fontaine, who was paid one hundred ten marks for his services in 1591, and later received his own living from the position.[41] With well-justified pride could the exiles claim that their less fortunate brethren did not suffer privations and want for lack of concern on the part of the wealthier refugees. And

39 From the Ordinances given in Bösken, "Die . . . Flüchtlingsgemeinde," 206. This was Art. 17. It is not certain when this was put into effect, and after a few years it apparently disappeared (Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken,* 303).

40 Sillem, "Stade," DHV*Gbl.*, II6, 27 f. Some quite large gifts were made. Cf. Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 20.

41 *Ibid.*, 17, an instruction dated Feb. 11, 1605, to la Fontaine from the Church board: "Zum ersten soll Jaques de la Fontaine gehalten sein, die Kranken dieser Gemeinde, sowohl die wallonische als die deutschen, bei Nacht und bei Tag, gerufen oder ungerufen, zu besuchen und dieselben mit Gottes heiligem Wort trösten und mit ihnen beten. Zum zweiten soll er den Diacres im Besuch und in der Besorgung der Armen helfen und auch sich informiren, wie diese in ihrem Haushalten führen und dazu das Schlechte als auch das Gute die Brüder wissen lassen. Zum dritten soll er des Mittags sich auf der Börse finden lassen, wenn er nicht durch notwendigen Krankenbesuch verhindert ist. Zum vierten soll er, soviel es möglich ist, sich beim Besuch der Kranken enthalten vom Branntwein, oder andere stark riechende Getränke zu trinken, dieweil viele die Gerüche nicht vertragen können."

their care not only for their own but also for many of the poor natives confronted many Germans with an idea and an ideal that had never occurred to them before.

As in England, so in Germany, help was sent from one group to another when one community of refugees found itself in difficulties. One series of examples will suffice to indicate the extent of the practice. Hamburg was a relatively rich church; Wesel was relatively poor, especially because of the large number of indigent refugees who arrived in that closest and most accessible haven of flight from the wrath of Alva. In 1589, therefore, Wesel applied for help to Hamburg, explaining that the long war and the trouble from the soldiery had cut off trade and ruined many of the citizens, as well as the exiles.[42] With generosity the group at Hamburg contributed three hundred *Thaler,* two thirds for the Flemish, one third for the Walloons. Help was also sent from Hamburg and Stade to the poor Protestant communities at Delft, Ghent, and Amsterdam, besides to the refugees at Frankenthal, who themselves in 1582 sent aid to the small refugee church of Otterberg.[43] Frankenthal and Sandwich were alike in that both gave and received help within a period of a few years.

Many of the expenses of the refugee communities were met by the patrons through whose favor they were received, and by other individuals and organizations. As in England, most of the early refugees who fled out of their native lands were given money, shelter, pensions, or a whole livelihood by friends in foreign lands and by noble patrons. Calvin at Strasbourg, although extremely poor most of the time, earned most of his living and even managed to help some who were poorer

42 Sillem: "Zur Gesch. der Niederländer in Hamburg," 570; *idem,* "Stade," 21. A year later Wesel asked help from the London Dutch Church (cf. Hessels, *Archivum,* III, 913-14, No. 1195, Nov. 5 [15], 1590; and the reply, 923, No. 1217, May 6 [16], 1591).

43 Cuno, "Frankenthal," DHV*Gbl.*, III3, 11. See also T. Barrelet, "Zur Geschichte der französisch-reformirten Gemeinde in Hamburg," DHV*Gbl.*, XII7-8, 7-9. Further examples in early 17th century in Cuno, "Annweiler," DHV*Gbl.*, II1, 7-14.

than he.[44] Attention has already been given to the celebrated refugees who found shelter in the house of Capito, in much the same way as foreigners were welcomed in England by Cranmer.[45] As were individuals, so were whole groups taken in by cities, as at Emden, where the population of the town came out to meet the refugees.[46] On this occasion it was reported that one family took in no less than thirty refugees! For the relief of needy families at Strasbourg the magistrates built for them some barracks, and in 1568 a collection was taken among the inhabitants of the city.[47]

Finally, the individual patrons. These were of two types: the rulers of certain regions where refugees were settled, and unofficial patrons whose only interest in them was one of sympathy. In the Rhineland and elsewhere the *Landesfürsten* supported Protestant immigrants, sometimes upon religious grounds, more often for economic reasons. Not only by exemptions and privileges, but also by cash advances and material gifts, did these princes make settlement more easy.[48] At the head of them stood Frederick III, Elector Palatine. One could also mention Count Philip Ludwig II of Hanau-Münzenberg, Count Johann of Nassau, Count Ernst of Schauenberg, and Landgrave Moritz of Hessen. All of these various sources are found also in England. If any differences are to be pointed out, it is to state that in England the ecclesiastical authorities had more to do with help for the strangers than was the case on the Continent. There were not many Cranmers, Parkers, and Jewels in Germany.

3. Economic Adaptation

When the economic situation in Germany in the sixteenth century is compared with that in England, the differences are more of degree than of kind. That is to say, the movements affecting German economic development were much the same as those molding the English organization. In both was pre-

44 Jacques Pannier, *Calvin à Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, Paris, 1925), 39.

45 Cf. Petri, "Strassburgs Beziehungen," *loc. cit.*, 139 f.; Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés de la Reforme en Suisse*, 19 f.; Schmidt, *Gérard Roussel*, 46-50.

46 Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 47.

47 Erichson, *L'église française de Strasbourg*, 42.

48 Georg Jahn, *Zur Gewerbepolitik der deutschen Landesfürsten vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1909, Diss.), 108 f.

sent the background of the medieval gild, a powerful economic weapon and an influential political power. In both persevered a local town and village economy struggling with the new tendencies toward the obliteration or expansion of economic barriers. In both there arose the same bitter conflicts, struggles between town and country, between gilds and non-gildsmen, between masters and journeymen inside the gilds, between merchant capitalists and small masters. In both, finally, there occurred a striking florescence of the textile industry, which was of overwhelming significance for the economic history of all Europe[49] On the other hand it must be said by way of qualification that in few of these aspects were the developments effective in the same degree. The gilds in Germany exhibited a more vigorous perseverance in life than did those of England. Although the system was greatly weakened, especially in those parts that felt the new tendencies and forces to the full—namely, in the Rhineland, the lands bordering on the Netherlands, and the maritime industrial centers like Hamburg—yet there survived in the gilds a greater tenacity of existence, which enabled them, especially in the south, to continue as living institutions, even though in many cases little remained but the shell. As a result, the conflict between masters and the journeymen's gilds was more violent than in England. Between 1450 and 1550 this struggle was one of the dominant features of industrial life in German cities. One of its consequences was the development of a workers' organization which passed beyond the confines of the towns and joined craftsmen together throughout much of the Empire. There arose an inter-locking connection between the cities. *"Im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert war*

49 It is impossible within the scope of this work to go into the various aspects of the economic history of the Empire and its components during the sixteenth century. Much work has been done on the subject in German; but there is an amazing vacuum in books done in the English language. England, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain—all these, but little or nothing on Germany. Whether this is owing to discouragement in the face of the vast quantity of German research that has already been done or in the face of the almost inextricable complexity of German economic institutions involved in the maze of political satrapies and territorial principalities, or to the unwarranted impression that economy inside the bounds of the Empire lay sleeping in the arms of the hoary gild system while industrial life outside, from the Low Countries clear around the Continent to Italy, was all progress, enlightenment, and innovation, is not within the province of this book to ascertain. The works of von Below, Kötzsche; Sombart and Brentano and Weber; Gothein, Bothe, Schmoller, and the rest of the host of local economic historians, provide a rich but forbidding field for study, as rewarding as, and certainly more abundant than, any similar group of works for any other country in the period of our century.

dann ganz Deutschland mit einem dichten Netze interterritorialer Gesellenverbände überspannt."[50] Other conflicts followed courses similar to the corresponding movements in England. But the fact that in the Empire there existed no effective—least of all in economic questions—central authority that could establish a unified policy on such problems as movement of industry to the country, business by non-gildmembers, subjection of small masters to merchant entrepreneurs, and the like, resulted in the confused operation of multifarious forces, strong here and weak there, rendering impossible any general trend of lasting significance. Although an inclination toward a "nationalization" of economy did no doubt exist in Germany in the sixteenth century, one cannot speak of nationalization with the same force of meaning applicable to the England of the period. Any such tendency was defeated from the beginning by the political heterogeneity of the Empire.

There did arise, however, discernible trends within certain regions influenced by the same forces. Such an area was the Lower Rhine, ruled for the most part by the Duke of Cleve. Here the dominant factor in economic life was the proximity of, and identity of interest with, the Low Countries. Although the idea of political unification had been relinquished forever by the Duke of Cleve in the Treaty of Venlo, 1543, no less did the reality of economic unity persevere. Cleve-Mark and Jülich-Berg continued in close relations with Gelderland. To the material unity was added the spiritual: for the influence of Gerhard Groote, Erasmus, the Brethren of the Common Life, and Reformed Protestantism in general was felt on the Lower Rhine as well as in the Netherlands. Traffic in translations of the Bible created as firm ties as did traffic in grains and manufactured products transported on the Rhine and the Lippe.[51] To these towns and regions, then, the Dutch refugees flocked, bringing with them two things besides their extremely meager possessions: first, a more complete identity of interest between the Netherlands and the Lower Rhine; and second, the wrath of the Duke of Alva, who threatened to descend on the towns that had dared receive the heretics that had escaped his

50 Jahn, *Zur Gewerbepolitik*, 42.

51 Wesel was the point where cargoes were trans-shipped from the deep-drafted Rhine boats to the lighter craft which plied the Lippe toward the East.

grasp, and who refrained from doing so only because of affairs of higher policy.

Finally, something must be said about the conditions of the textile industry in Germany at the time of the immigration. The conflicts that prevailed generally during the century also characterized the cloth trades, involving individual versus industrial production, municipal exclusiveness versus the needs of the larger commercial economy, native versus foreign cloth, weavers versus dealers, and so forth.[52] There arose also technical difficulties concerning the division of labor. This was of special importance for the cloth industries, because organization of production was already built in detail along traditional lines that did not at all suit the requirements of the new tendencies. If weavers and finishers were given headaches by these inner struggles, so were they also pained by the competition of foreign cloth production. The manufacture of Italian silk in Venice, Genoa, Florence, newly brought to Naples, Milan, and Turin; the wide fame of Toledo and Seville in Spain; in France the old industry of Paris and the new of Tours and Lyons—these as rivals were powerful enough. They were not to be compared, however, with the heavy competition presented by the Netherlandish cities, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and the rest.[53] To all these troubles must be added the fact that in some at least of the German cities the cloth trade fell off in the first part of the century, as it did in many of the English towns. There should be little surprise, therefore, when it is learned that the cities and the princes in whose lands the cloth industry had got a foothold cast about for means of resuscitating their ailing industries. Old cloths and methods were dying out; the new were in demand. It remained only to find the means for spreading the new art that had been developing in the rural and semi-rural areas of the Low Countries. And the opportunity came with the dispersal over the face of Europe of the Netherlandish refugees.

In two different ways could a generous magistracy or prince make things easy for refugees: by relaxing requirements for

52 Cf. Schmoller, *Die Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft*, 504, 509.
53 Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbes*, 67.

entrance into existing gilds, or by permitting the exercise of trades outside of the gild control. The first policy was followed at Wesel, where cloth-shearers were allowed easy entrance into the gild;[54] the second was followed in Emden. In this place at the beginning of the century the regulation had been enforced that anyone who lived and worked there also had to be a citizen and belong to a gild. Later, as more outsiders came, the magistrates allowed them to reside in the town without becoming citizens, and at the same time gave them rights scarcely less favorable than those enjoyed by the citizens. Much economic freedom prevailed, and trades were pursued without gild interference.[55] The same may be said of the refugee colony far to the east, the small group of urban settlers at Königsberg, where they, collected mainly in one of the liberties, called the Rossgarten, were more or less freed from gild regulation.[56]

One of the most interesting developments took place at Hamburg. Attention has already been given to the requests made by Hermann Rodenborch,[57] but little has been said about the significance of the petition. Actually it represents an almost unheard-of liberal spirit, which ignored the existing economic organization of gild and craftsman with blissful disregard.[58] The same may be said of the contract of 1586 made with Hermann Gancken and his family[59] Although the Ordinances of 1613 set up more detailed and stricter regulations,[60] yet liberality in some respects and absence of restrictions in others indicates that a compromise had been made between the gild-spirit of the natives and the free spirit of the refugees, with the balance in favor of the latter.[61]

54 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 40.

55 Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt*, Abh. III, 119-120. One who had practiced a trade had to make certain arrangements with the gild of that trade, but the latter did not hinder his work if he was a legitimate craftsman. "Wichtige Gewerbe, Weber, Färber und Tuchbereiter, waren höchstwahrscheinlich überhaupt nicht zunftmässig organisiert."

56 Schumacher, *Niederländische Ansiedlungen*, 127.

57 See above 98 f.

58 Therkorn, *Gewerbegeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 39, writes: "Tatsächlich stellten die Forderungen Rodenborchs, der der erste eingewanderte Niederländer dieser Zeit ist, von dem wir etwas wissen, eine unerhörte Neuerung dar. Das Bereiten und Färben der Tücher im eigenen Betriebe, die Beschäftigung von unbeschränkt vielen Knechten und der Verkauf nach Elle und Stücken zeugten von einem gewerbefreiheitlichen Geist wie er bis dahin in Hamburg noch nicht gespürt worden war."

59 *Ibid.*, 44 f.

60 *Ibid.*, 47-51.

61 *Ibid.*, 54-60.

Turning from the wool trade to the manufacture of silk, a contrast is presented by the attitude of the lace industry on the one hand and of the *Trippen* (mockado) industry on the other. The former, controlled throughout by the native craftsmen, displayed a definitely gild-minded spirit;[62] the latter, introduced by the refugees and dominated by them, remained a free trade.[63] It is clear that a definite correlation existed between the presence of refugees and the expression of liberal economic views. Already, before the refugees came, there had arisen the problem of independence and small masters, craftsmen who worked outside the gild. A chief cause for this was the increasing difficulty of entrance into the gild and mastership. The arrival of exiles only increased the urgency of the situation, for the necessity of becoming a citizen was a prerequisite for attainment of mastership in the gild. Few refugees, however, became citizens. As a result a struggle was precipitated, forcing many of the strangers to leave Hamburg and settle in Altona.

Not only in Hamburg, but also in other cities, did conflict and opposition develop against the strangers. And nowhere was this opposition more effective, and nowhere did it spring from more varied sources, than in the city of Cologne. Netherlanders had been received there rather early; and there were indications that much benefit would be derived from their industry, especially from the manufacture of silk fabrics. The old silk industry of Cologne was literally on its last legs, sunk in the morass of dead tradition, unable to adjust itself to the changing conditions of trade. Hope for its revival was aroused, however, by the arrival of Netherlanders who were proficient in the new silk trade, especially the art of lacemaking.[64] Certain difficulties were encountered in adjusting the new to the old setup. Most of the silk weavers of Cologne were women, while the Dutch in that trade were men. Besides, the lacemakers

62 *Ibid.*, 79-82. Another point of conflict between refugees and natives lay in the fact that the former had been accustomed to the system of *Hausindustrie* (domestic system) in the Netherlands, while this was forbidden in Hamburg. When merchant entrepreneurs (*Verleger*) came to the city, attempts were made, apparently without success, to establish that system there.

63 *Ibid.*, 85-87. The mockado makers regulated only the position of journeymen and apprentices, said nothing about quality of product. An apprenticeship of 3 years was stipulated and the number limited to two for each master; but no limit was placed on the number of journeymen and looms. There were, moreover, no regulations for mastership. This freedom was helped by the favorable conditions in Hamburg.

64 Witzel, "Gewerbegeschichtliche Studien," 423.

from the Low Countries were accustomed to the domestic system of putting-out, while the native silk-workers were independent craftsmen—a state of affairs exactly parallel to that of Hamburg. Inevitable disagreement and opposition resulted. A strong faction among the inhabitants of the city saw the importance of the refugees, sought to give them the necessary freedom to introduce the new methods. Through their influence in the Council the exiles were permitted to bring in new machinery, such as wheels and mills for making spun silk, or floss, and tapestry; and in 1562 the use of a twisting mill was permitted.[65] These favorable beginnings notwithstanding, within a few years the advances were brought to naught by the overbearing influence of the conservatives in the Council. Privileges were revoked and the new industry was choked in infancy.[66] The fault lay directly with the Council. After a long period of vacillation, bent in one direction or another by the influence brought to bear on it from the conservative faction, from the vigorous minority that favored the refugees, from the interested gild groups, even from the Pope,[67] the Council finally decided against the new trends and cut off all hope of reviving the outmoded silk industry, sadly in need of an elixir of new life.[68]

The small experimental community brought to Diez by Count Johann of Nassau aroused the jealousy of the natives to such an extent that they at one time destroyed the bake-ovens that had been set up for the strangers' use.[69] And in Wesel continual antagonism was shown toward the Netherlanders. Opposition came from those who objected to the plan of Dutch merchants to trade in *Trippen* not made in the town. Another type of complaint arose over *"allerley opstiegerung der Huishuir damit der Borger sehr besweret werd,"*[70] resulting in the demand that no more refugees be admitted and no more favors

65 *Ibid.*, 426.

66 *Ibid.*, 427, 429 f., 442.

67 Pius V, Dec. 13, 1567, to Cologne—quoted in Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, IV, 836.

68 Cf. Van Schelven, *Vluchtelingenkerken*, 269; Witzel, "Studien," 442. Ennen, *Köln*, IV, 834, outlines the various acts against the strangers.

69 Wolf, "Des Grafen Johann von Nassau Bemühungen," 197.

70 Quoted in Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 44. The same sentiments were voiced in Cologne, where it was claimed that "sie alles, was alhie zu velem kauf kumpt, vertheuern, den hauszins zu hohe steigern und in iren gehurten heusern ire eigen arbeitsvolk haben, welchs sie mitgebracht und gepraüchen zu grossem nachteil der burger." Quoted in Witzel, "Studien," 129.

be given them. No more than in England, therefore, did native populations welcome the exiles with one voice and with one accord. In every age and in every place there have been those who saw in the hand of generosity extended to unfortunate brethren not a gesture of mercy and sympathy to fellowmen but a threat of impairment to their own position.

A parallel uncommonly true to form is encountered when the judgments on the relative benefit brought by the refugees are studied. It was found in England that the formula "before-and-after" adequately described the general conclusions. The same judgment is found in the case of the German colonies. To take Wesel as an example, that city had been slow in developing the wool-weaving industry in the fifteenth century, and furthermore suffered an economic crisis in the early decades of the sixteenth century.[71] Wesel, with its old methods, was hopelessly behind the times, saw only a melancholy future for its industry. Then came the refugees. Weavers of the new fabrics, using new methods and imbued with the spirit of industriousness, they shortly brought to the town such prosperity as had never before been known.[72] Hence, the wise fathers of Wesel were rewarded for their well-advised generosity in giving a haven for the strangers who fled from the lands terrorized by Alva, a policy from which they had hope *"tot proffyt ende neeringe."*[73] So it could be said of Otterberg, Emden, Annweiler, Hamburg.[74] So also it might have been said of Frankfurt and Aachen and Cologne, had they had the wit to perceive wherein their true interest lay. Like Halstead, the bad example of England, these cities finally expelled those who would have brought them benefit. They were not the only cities and communities in which was raised the cry *"dat de fremde den Borgern de Nahrung utt den munde theen"*;[75] but they gave too much heed to the complaints and too little to the general well-being. Having rejected the new ideas and

71 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 9, 26 f.

72 Cf. Heidemann, "Die Statuten des Wullenampts zu Wesel," *loc. cit.*, 86; Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 25.

73 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 10.

74 Knecht, "Otterberg," DHV*Gbl.*, I7, 12; Dalton, *Johannes à Lasco*, 210, 443, 456; Cuno, "Annweiler," DHV*Gbl.*, II1, 4.

75 Bothe, *Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung*, 265.

practices, they laid upon themselves the onus of maintaining an outworn and outmoded system that promised no future except gradual dissolution. Aachen was especially unfortunate. When the city received the refugees, it had great hopes of increased prosperity. But the golden days never arrived. For some reason the place proved unsatisfactory for the development of the cloth industry. Fey contentiously asserted that the failure lay with the exiles themselves, whom he charged with incompetence;[76] but his interpretation cannot be maintained, as other investigators have shown.[77] The problem at Aachen was either lack of a sufficient number of dyers or the unsatisfatory quality of the water available there.

In Germany, then, as in England, it is easy to construct a before-and-after thesis on the benefits of the exiles in strange lands. The interpretation is by no means lacking in plausibility and in firm basis in fact; but, also like England, it does not tell the whole story, which must wait for the concluding chapter for statement. That "benefits" were received is indubitable; but benefits are shallower than influences.

76 Fey, *Zur Geschichte Aachens*, 14, 16.
77 Witzel, "Studien," 125.

CHAPTER VI

GERMANY: OLD TOWNS AND NEW

Beide Wirkungen bieten selbständiges wirtschaftshistorisches Interesse; denn auf der einen Seite ist es interessant zu beobachten, wie und mit welchem Erfolge sich eine grosse Einwanderung mit der an Zahl überliegenen eingessenen Bevölkerung wirtschaftlich auseinandersetzt—auf der anderen Seite dagegen, wie sich die Einwanderer in der neugegründeten Niederlassung, in der sie die herrschende Stellung haben, wirtschaftlich einrichten, auf der Basis der allgemeinen deutschen Gewerbeverfassung oder abweichend davon. . . .

Georg Witzel

In the chapters on England special attention was given to the relations of the refugees with the gilds in the two important communities of London and Norwich.[1] The present chapter is devoted to a consideration of the industrial activities of the exiles in the three German cities, Frankfurt, Frankenthal, and Hanau, with special reference to the *type* of settlement that evolved. In England the strangers resided for the most part in urban areas that were already well populated and continued to be dominated by the native elements: in Germany they established *two* kinds of colonies. On the one hand were those groups gathered together in cities, where they lived apart from the other inhabitants and formed only a minority of the population; on the other were those settlements built up by the refugees themselves in rural or semi-rural regions, where they comprised the whole or almost all of the small villages or towns that resulted from this process of colonization.[2] Of these Frankfurt, and most of the centers described in the preceding chapter, belong to the former type, while Frankenthal and Hanau and, in the seventeenth century, Mannheim belong to the latter. Needless to say, differences in make-up and character appeared before much time had elapsed. The three sixteenth century groups will be taken in turn and the first contrasted with the latter two.

1 See above, Chap. iv.

2 See the quotation from Witzel, "Gewerbegeschichtliche Studien," 134, given at the head of this chapter.

1. Frankfurt-am-Main

Frankfurt, like many another city of the Empire, found itself in difficulties in the middle of the sixteenth century, and sought to improve its condition by increasing the income of the municipality. This end, it was thought, could best be achieved by strengthening the industries, and particularly by the introduction of foreign talent. A fortunate coincidence was the arrival of Netherlanders who were proficient in new and vigorous cloth trades.[3] Hitherto, it should be noted, Frankfurt's industry had not been very well developed: till deep in the Reformation period its economic life was based primarily on rural economy, at least more rural than urban. The patricians were owners of land, and even the handworkers themselves usually had an acre of their own for a garden.[4] Now the desire to improve industrial activity led the Council to subsidize increase of production by making advances for the establishment of new industries, furnishing dye houses, and so forth. Complete economic freedom was not the ideal envisaged by the magistrates. On the contrary not only were some new gilds established but also a new tendency, exemplified by the formation of a combined gild of barbers and beerbrewers, appeared, in which the separate gilds were no longer restricted to handworkers in one craft.[5] A similar movement in England was the rise of the great Livery Companies of London. Moreover, the Council endeavored to regulate prices, restrain competition, apply the medieval principles of brotherly equality and the just price, and enforce its patriachal oversight of economic life.

In this endeavor the muncipal authorities were supported by the gild organizations, the spirit of which became more and more narrow as the century progressed. As in England, difficulties attending entrance into full mastership multiplied.[6] As a direct consequence, a division of interest and status developed between masters and journeymen, tending to reduce the latter

3 *Ibid.*, 135, and Bothe, *Geschichte der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, 360: "Die Fremden ein Geschenk mitbrachten, das für die Stadt sehr erwünscht sein musste, nämlich ein Gewerbe, das bis dahin in deutschen Landen wenig getrieben wurde, die Seidenweberei, besonders die Kunft in Verfertigen von Possamenten und Seidenschnur."

4 Bothe, *Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung*, 221.

5 *Idem, Gesch. der Stadt Frankfurt*, 365.

6 *Ibid.*, 369.

to the position of permanent wage earners. In spite of the efforts of the Council prices continued to rise,[7] and prosperity seemed to have become the lot of the inhabitants of the good city of Frankfurt—not, however, an unmixed blessing, as one learns from the sentiments recorded in the gild book of the lacemakers:

> Lasst von den grossen Saufen ab,
> Ihr habt doch keinen Frommen darob,
> Ihr schwächet nur eur Leib und Gut
> Und bringt die Seel zur Höllenglut.[8]

Into this environment came the refugees, a little after the middle of the century. Since most of these movements were already under way, they could do little but adapt themselves to the situation, and make a place for their industry and trades in the midst of an already complicated economic organization. This they succeeded in doing with a remarkable degree of success—at least for a few years. Most of the admissions to citizenship fell in the first seven years, although others were granted later, especially after the sack of Antwerp in 1577 and after the capture of that city in 1585.[9] Many refugees continued to work at their trades without becoming citizens. It is interesting to note, however, that in two years between 1554 and 1561 more Netherlanders were made citizens than natives, although the average for those years was 38.4 per cent. Another indication of the early success of the refugees is the friendly spirit of the magistrates exhibited from the beginning until about 1556. Thus the requests of Valérand Poullain that the members of his group be received freemen of the city and that a working place be furnished them, were granted,[10] and Poullain could say that to no one who abode by the laws and customs were the rights of freemen denied.[11] Next year, in 1556, the Netherlanders were provided with a mangle for the weavers, a washing place for the dyers, and a working place for the weavers.

In the matter of the relatively great importance of textile-

7 A pound of beef in 1541 cost 6 heller, in 1559 7 heller, in 1587 10 heller (Bothe, *Gesch. der Stadt Frankf.*, 370).

8 Quoted *ibid.*, 371.

9 Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, II, 31. Witzel, "Studien," 137, gives some figures on the relative numbers of aliens who acquired the status of *Bürger*.

10 Ebrard, *Die Gemeinde in Frankfurt*, 90, 156 ff.

11 Witzel, "Studien," 146.

workers Frankfurt was no exception.[12] About one half of the total number were weavers or handicraftsmen associated with the making of cloth. Other trades were, of course, well represented; but in textiles most of the exiles earned their living, and through textiles they exerted their greatest influence. Brewers and bakers, shoemakers, joiners, and tailors pursued their various crafts—as is proved, if by nothing else, by the complaints and regulations against them. They more easily ran afoul of the native workers' interests, because those trades were already carried on by the natives.[13] Not so with the weavers. Although, of course, textiles of various sorts had been made in Frankfurt long before the arrival of the Netherlanders, yet there was achieved a degree of cooperation that was made possible, first by the introduction of new kinds of cloth not before made, and second by the already existing unhappy state of the native cloth trade. Members in the wool industry, who had numbered two hundred twenty-three in 1387, had diminished in 1440 to one hundred fifteen, and by 1539 numbered only forty-nine.[14] In this sorry state of affliction the coming of refugee woolweavers would mean not so much the rise of competition as the administration of a shot in the arm for an ailing industry. In other words, the natives had more hope of benefit than of injury from the refugees. In 1555 these alien woolworkers asked permission to make four different kinds of cloth, for which *"unterschiedliche Siegel"* should be provided, and further that they should either have their own gild or, failing that, be received into the gild already existing in Frankfurt. In the latter case they asked for consideration of their poverty-stricken members in the payment of gild dues. The idea of a separate gild for refugees was given up; but the gild dues were relaxed for those who were poor.[15]

At the very beginning, however, trouble was encountered, not so much from the opposition of the natives as from the inherent difficulties of the situation. First, the reception of refugees, both rich and poor, created an impossible state of affairs,

12 *Ibid.*, 151: Of 195 Dutch listed in 1556 103 were textile-workers: of 417 in a list of 1557 226 were of that trade; and of 421 Dutch citizens 197 were connected with it.

13 Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, II, 165 *et passim;* Witzel, "Studien," 151-52.

14 Witzel, "Studien," 152.

15 *Ibid.*, 153.

with the result that *"so war mancher arme Teufel Bürger geworden der nur sein nacktes Leben durch die Flucht gerettet hatte und nichts sein eigen nannte."*[16] Then many of the refugees found it only too easy to carry on their trades outside the gild, a practice that led directly to conflict with the gild members. The first complaints against them came from the shoemakers (1555), who objected not only to work outside the gild but also to the sale of *"fremde Schuhe."* In rapid succession followed pleas from the cabinet makers and the tailors. Impressed by these petitions, and recognizing the injustices involved in permitting some to work outside the gild without paying the dues required of gild members, the Council decided that all workers should enter gilds, but that the gilds should themselves be surety for poor refugees who could not pay entrance fees. No objection was offered by the exiles to this adjustment, but they continued to carry on their trades independently. Since more and more Dutch workers continued to arrive in the city on the Main, the problems were only aggravated. At last, in 1556, the Council abandoned its former friendly attitude, decided that the refugees were a burden, and ceased to protect them in any way from the opposition of the gilds and the conservative natives.[17] In a comprehensive and temperate reply the Netherlanders, after giving consideration to the disagreements which had arisen over ecclesiastical and doctrinal points, agreed that the economic regulations that had been made ought to be obeyed by all and that the gilds had justified authority in their trades. They only requested that the gilds, in collecting the admission fees, be clement toward the poor and those who had children, and raised the question of birth and emigration certificates, which had been formally required for the settlement in Frankfurt for the exercise of a trade. Then, turning to the specific problems that had brought forth the protests, to the shoemakers, the joiners, and the tailors, the refugees explained that there were only five each of these among them, and that they were all so poor that they could hardly make a living from their work, and further that three of the tailors were but stocking-makers. These, in their opinion, should be permitted to continue to work without entry

16 *Ibid.*, 147. See also Bothe, *Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung*, 223.

17 Witzel, "Studien," 149: "Wollt, man könnt der Fremden mit Fug loswerden."—quoting from the Council records.

into the gild; but if it were decided otherwise, then consideration should be given for their poverty.

Opposition continued, nevertheless, and complaints were made that the refugees *"in den Zünften viel Unrichtigkeit einführen."* The central point of dispute remained *"wie es mit denen, so allbereit in der Stadt und mehrerteils nit bürger sind, angerichtet und gehalten werden sollt."*[18] Although the Council perceived the true character of the difficulties, yet its dilatory attitude after 1556, its vacillation and uncertainty of mind and intention, defeated all attempts to clarify the situation with certainty and finality. Disgusted with the ineffectiveness of the Council's policy, the handicraftsmen of Frankfurt began to take direct and illegal action of their own accord: confronting the refugees, they forbade them to pursue their trades.[19] The Council did nothing to put a stop to this extra-legal activity, and lent tacit support to the gilds. Undoubtedly the effects of refugee industry were not entirely beneficial to the position of native workers. Although many natives were given work by the new industries introduced by the strangers, and although old established industries were reinvigorated, nevertheless certain groups of natives were injured by these developments, put out of work, even reduced to a state of indigence and proletarianism.[20] It is little to be wondered at, then, that violence against the exiles broke out, even as it had in England.

Before continuing with the discussion of the later history and controversies that centered around the cloth-workers, it is best to give consideration to the detailed organization of the worsted weavers, the most important of the sundry cloth-makers from the Netherlands.[21] At first nothing is heard of them, although they were among the first to arrive. In 1555, however, they submitted a sample of their product to the magistrates for approval, and asked for a seal. At first they sought for freedom to regulate their own affairs; but under the stress of necessity later agreed to the establishment of an ordinance, which ap-

18 *Ibid.*, 150.

19 *Ibid.*, 151.

20 Bothe, *Gesch. der Stadt Frankfurt*, 378.

21 The German term for worsted was *"Bursat,"* spelled in a number of outlandish ways: *bursat, pursat, burset, burschet, purschet, burschid, burschit,* According to Witzel (155 f.) the worsted weavers were also known as *textores pannorum ostadinorum* and *saietteurs.*

peared in 1559. "But that they already in 1555 sealed their own cloth shows that they made no pretense to complete freedom in the production of their fabrics."[22] This Ordinance contained many interesting features, especially important because the document was actually a work of the refugees themselves. The assembly of masters were yearly to elect five men, whose duty was *operum inspectio et iudicium*. These five men were in turn to choose two woolmakers or dyers as assistants. The period set for learning the trade was one year. Many technical instructions were laid down for length and breadth, quality, appearance, and processes. Regulations were made for search and seal, both after weaving and after dyeing. And finally rules were established for the purchase and use of yarn.[23] In describing the general character of the Ordinances, they are notable for their brevity, the Latin text being in forty-five articles, the German in thirty-nine.[24] Furthermore, certain common stipulations were lacking in the Frankfurt document: the location for making cloth was left free to the choice of the workers; the stipulations on quality and appearance of the cloth were relatively few; no limit was placed on the amount of production;[25] there were no rules for legitimacy of birth. In other cases the requirements were reduced: the period of apprenticeship was lowered to only one year, a period less than that commonly accepted either on the Continent or in England;[26] the fee of one gulden four shillings for the worsted weavers and fourteen shillings for the combers was relatively small; no payment at all was demanded of apprentices; and at Frankfurt women, wives of the weavers, were allowed to comb the wool, while in Strasbourg *Wollschlagermeistern* and *Knechten* were necessary.[27] In general, then, it must be admitted that the Ordinances were pretty well freed from the more narrow gild spirit, and

22 Witzel, "Studien," 159.

23 These regulations on yarn were important for Frankfurt because of the limited supply of wool stuff in the industrial city of the inlands. At Hamburg, which had easy access to maritime commerce, such regulations were not so important.

24 The third book of the Strasbourg clothmakers in 1551 had two hundred twenty-two articles (Schmoller, *Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft*, 176-213, printing the articles.

25 The Strasbourg regulations of 1551 limited the number of looms to 3, but was considered more liberal than any other of its time. Cf. Schmoller, *Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft*, 524; Witzel, "Studien" 164.

26 In Strasbourg the Ordinances of 1555 had required 2 years; and the formal period of seven years in England must not be forgotten.

27 Schmoller, *Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft*, 521, 526.

represented a relatively modern position in economic organization.[28]

Georg Witzel has sought for the origins of this free spirit in the background of the refugees in the Netherlands. Since this investigation by Witzel is based largely on the work of Henri Pirenne,[29] this aspect of the question may be omitted here. Of the forty-eight weavers who came between 1554 and 1560 and became citizens, nineteen were from Flanders, twenty from Hainault, three from Artois, and two from France, with four of undetermined origin.[30] Hailing from Tournay, Lille, Armentieres, Bailleul, Valenciennes, Arras, they were from the chief centers of new cloth manufacture in southern Belgium. This fact, therefore, explains why the cloth ordinances in Frankfurt in 1559 were so different from the commonly accepted form of regulation. They represent the attitude and position of the vigorous and unhampered cloth industry as it was even then rising to prosperity in the southern part of the Low Countries.

Now the study of the development of the refugee wool industry may be resumed. How far did it fare under its new regulations, so favorable to individual initiative and advancement? Not so well. For one thing there was a lack of wool yarn. For another thing, the new Ordinance, for all its liberality, required a higher fee for sealing; it was so high that finally it had to be reduced. In the third place, difficulties in marketing the products arose. Since the demand at Frankfurt was limited, the city was unable to absorb the greatly increased production. Then, finally, as the crowning obstacle to prosperity in the cloth trades, the refugee churches were closed in 1561, as a result mainly of ecclesiastical disputes. More profoundly than any of the economic and industrial troubles did the religious contentions fix a gulf between the aliens and the natives in the Lutheran-minded city. Although no doubt economic factors had much to do with the departure of a great number of exiles, it is clear that the most important cause for

28 Witzel, "Studien," 166: "Will man nach Aufzeigung aller Abweichungen im einzelnen kurz den Geist, der in der Ordnung zum Ausdruck kommt, bestimmen, so muss man sagen, dass er in hervorragendem Masse freiheitlich ist. Insofern die Ordnung die Qualität der Zeuge bis auf Länge und Breite und die Grosse der Produktion freigibt, trägt sie geradezu modernes Gepräge."

29 Especially *Histoire de Belgique.*

30 Witzel, "Studien," 171.

the movement was the religious intolerance that resulted in the closing of the Reformed churches established by the strangers.[31] At this time most of the worsted-weavers left the city, and many of those who remained chose other trades. The old cloth gild dwindled away until there was little or nothing left of it.[32]

So far central attention has been given to the wool industry, because it is the most interesting and gave rise to the most extensive conflicts. This does not mean, however, that no other fabrics were made by refugees in Frankfurt. On the contrary, there were important groups of lacemakers and velvet and tapestry workers, and a considerable number of linen weavers.[33] The latter were the only craftsmen besides the wool-weavers to encounter any native competition in the same trade; and no conflict developed here because the linen-making refugees fulfilled without opposition all the regulations set by the natives. Witzel, drawing a conclusion on the relations of the exiles with the natives, speaks of a "tension" between them, which did not develop into an open and direct conflict.[34] There stood strangers who, not being citizens nor members of the gild, yet carried on their trades independently; and there also stood others who, not being citizens, entered the gild only under compulsion.

As the century went on the Dutch exiles who remained in Frankfurt continued to participate in important industries, but native opposition grew in persistent attack.[35] More and more restrictions were imposed, and they could not but be felt. In 1583 the exiles were forbidden to buy houses without permission from the Council; in 1586 it was decreed that no stranger could be received into citizenship unless he married into a citizen's family. An excise was laid on Dutch agents because they *"den Teutschen Bürgern vnd Factoren das Brot*

31 This is testified to by the Acts of the Council: "Item als der fremden und welsch halben mancherley clagen einkommen, wie sie täglichs überhandt nahmen und einander unterschleiffen, item dass sie alle Ding uff dem Marckt verteuern und in der Zünften viel unrichtigkeit einführen, sonderlich aber und das mehr ist allerley Secten und Kirchengebräuch, welche unserer religion und bishero gehaltener ceremonien ungemäss und entgegen, anrichten und treiben, auch unter ihnen selbst in glaubenssachen nit einig seyen, derhalben dann . . . unter der gemeinen Burgerschaft viel clagens und murmelns sey . . ." Witzel, "Studien," 181.

32 In 1574 there were 16 members, in 1589 none. Witzel, "Studien," 177.

33 Cf. *ibid.*, 178 ff.

34 *Ibid.*, 180.

35 Bothe, *Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung*, 233.

aus dem Maule zögen."[36] Again many refugees were forced out of the city, this time not to Frankenthal, the haven of earlier emigrants, but rather to Hanau. By 1599 the effect of this departure of much of the best industrial talent already was felt. On economic grounds, then, and also on religious and political grounds—the religious fear of the *"Secten,"* the political fear of an *"Vffruhr"*—the natives turned against the foreigners and drove them from the city. Deeper and deeper sank Frankfurt into the toils of an economic crisis that culminated in the outbreaks known as the *Fettmilchaufstand*.[37] Like Cologne, the city on the Main had spurned, after a long period of uncertain toleration and dilatory limitation, the chance for prosperity that came with the arrival of the refugees.

In order that a clear comparison may be made with the characteristics of the colonies described in the following section, it should be emphasized that in Frankfurt, where the exiles comprised but a small part of the total population and had to make adjustments to the already existing economic organization, rivalry and opposition and competition with the natives placed the strangers in the position of opposing, almost rebelling against, the formal structure of industrial life, based on the gild system and careful oversight of every activity designed to protect the best interests of all. The facts that many exiles either could not, would not, or did not bother to acquire the rights of citizens, and that they persisted in carrying on their trades outside of, and sometimes in opposition to, the gilds, in spite of efforts to stop the practice, led inevitably to a conception of industrial activity and economic relations much more liberal and unrestricted in tenor than any attitude possible under the strict gild system. Whether the religious beliefs of the refugees, different from those of the natives among whom they lived, had anything to do with this change of outlook is a question that must be reserved for discussion in the concluding chapter. At present the main point is the comparison of the two environmental situations: the minority settlement in an old established community, and the separate colony composed entirely of refugees gathered together in a community of their own construction. To two examples of this latter type, Frankenthal and Hanau, attention is now directed.

36 *Ibid.*, 244.

37 This seventeenth century event is outside our scope.

2. Frankenthal and Hanau

Taking first the example of Hanau, on which much more material is available, the outstanding fact of its early history is the Capitulation by which the terms of the settlement were laid down. The core of the document is Article Eight.[38] Although in the beginning this article was apparently freely interpreted as granting a considerable degree of economic liberty, later it was used in a stricter and more conservative sense. At first prohibition of monopoly was enforced as a necessary complement to freedom of economic activity; but later this also was greatly modified. Another unusual privilege was that of keeping open shop. Since the Capitulation itself contained several other notable features of a generous character, the refugees there had no difficulty in organizing their life as they wished.

As in most of the other refugee communities, the clothworkers were in a majority, or at least formed a larger group than any other trade. In 1604 a clothworkers' ordinance was set up, and in 1606 a system of search and seal was instituted. In contrast to Frankfurt, the wool cloth industry at Hanau took fast root, with the making of bombazine, hondscot, say, and worsted stuffs.[39] Besides these were less important, but no less worthy of mention, cloth trades, the making of linen and fustian, or dimity. The Ordinance of 1605, set up for the worsted weavers, is the most important document remaining in Hanau of this period.[40] Three masters were elected *"zu dem endt, dass sie fleissig vnd trewlich alle vnd jede Sergen- oder Hunskottem vnd Rayen besichtigen sollen, ob dieselben trewlich vnd auffrichtig gemacht sein."* Provisions were laid down for the inspection of the cloth after every process. Certain requirements usually found in cloth regulations were absent, like attendance at church and exhortation to a Christian life, testimonies as to legitimacy of birth and certificates of apprenticeship and service as journeyman and masters' papers. No limits were placed on the size of production; no positive stipulations as to quality were made, although a fault-free product was desired. For some of the breth-

38 This article is quoted in Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 9. The rest of the details merely supplement the central policies expressed here.

39 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 20-22; cf. for Frankfurt, Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, II, 269.

40 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 23; Caspari, *Entwicklung des Hanauer Edelmetallgewerbes*, 28.

ren, however, this liberal system was too high an ideal: they asked for and obtained an order limiting the number of looms, and in 1628 had the number of workers permitted in a single establishment limited to two.[41] These facts are of no little significance in a comparison of the economic attitude of refugees in the old established centers like Frankfurt with that of these folk at Hanau.

Besides worsted manufacture, many refugees participated in the production of grogram and mockado (*Trippen*). The former was introduced as a result of an economic crisis that afflicted Hanau in the second decade of the seventeenth century, caused by a decrease in population and prohibition of immigration of refugees.[42] In an effort to bolster the ailing industrial life, grogram workers were brought in and organized into a *"Compagnie."* In connection with this trade the principle of free trade was abandoned in favor of the establishment of a monopoly: in 1613 an agreement was made between a merchant in Frankfurt and three citizens of Hanau, arranging for the exclusive trade in this cloth for a period of eighteen years. The *Trippen*-weavers were not subjected to regulation till 1612, when they were organized and given an ordinance. For a number of years this industry thrived and flourished, but after 1618 it began to decline, until by 1624 there was no more heard of it. There were some hosemakers also.

In addition to the weavers of wool and part-wool cloths were the silk-weavers.[43] The typical Netherlandish organization of merchants who put out the raw material to the household craftsmen, particularly lacemakers, was carried over into the industrial organization of Hanau. Although some of them were in the town from the beginning of the migration, the first notices of their activity come from the year 1602. An abundant supply of the proper kind of water and relatively unhampered economic circumstances insured the prosperity of this community, at least through its participation in the lace industry. A large number of lacemakers settled in Hanau, but it was not until 1625 that they were given an ordinance, which, although most of the workers were Netherlanders, was quite gild-spir-

41 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 24 f.; Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 29.
42 Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 29 f.; Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 25.
43 Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 32 ff.; Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 31, ff.

ited. This may be explained partly by the gradual influx of natives with conservative ideas into the new town; but it is also very likely that the fact that in this town the refugees were not in conflict with a native majority population had much to do with the acquiescence of the Dutch in the gild system.

Of the other trades carried on in Hanau, beer-brewing and working in precious metals were, as in other refugee centers, well represented.[44] In the third decade of the seventeenth century tobacco culture was introduced.[45] Important were the goldsmiths and artisans in precious metals, for they gave to Hanau a name famous in this art. There were at least four in 1597, eight in 1600, twenty-seven in 1608, and thirty-three in 1613.[46] In the Netherlands the art of handling gold was not organized into a gild, and, although two edicts of Charles V had limited abuses current, freedom of activity described the state of affairs there.[47] But at Hanau, in the Ordinances of 1610, the spirit was quite definitely that of the gilds. Wardens were appointed and regulations were made on apprenticeship and service as journeyman, the period of learning being set at four years, besides a six weeks probationary period. Requirements for becoming a full-fledged goldsmith were: (1) acquire citizenship or right of residence; (2) serve for four years as apprentice and two as journeyman; (3) submit letters of legitimate birth; (4) make a masterpiece; (5) pay an admission fee. Large fines were imposed for violations of the rules. Compared with other regulations for goldsmiths, it may be said that those of Hanau represent a combination of those of Frankenthal, which served as a model, and those of Frankfurt, whence came many of the Hanau goldsmiths.[48] Finally, in comparison with other ordinances of the time, the Hanau regulations were less free than the average, although some others in some respects were stricter.[49]

44 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 39, 41, 50 ff.; Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 39, 47 ff.

45 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 42 f.; Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 40 f. The tobacco ordinance of 1640 was remarkably liberal.

46 A flourishing trade with the Palatinate and other regions developed; the record books of Frederick IV of the Palatinate contain several references to this business.

47 Caspari, *Entwicklung*, 47.

48 *Ibid.*, 58.

49 *Ibid.*, 60 ff.; Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 54. Strasbourg and Augsburg required a longer period for learning the trade.

Thus, in summary, the freedom from governmental control enjoyed by the refugees in Hanau was considerable; considerable also was the freedom given in industrial activity within the town. Nevertheless—and the point is not without significance—a gild system *did* develop, loose in some trades, strict in others, but almost always present. There is no question but that the refugees themselves wanted such regulation, for one hears nothing of artisans persistently working outside of the gild organization. A perceptible contrast is presented to the situation in Frankfurt, where many of the small minority of refugees refused to align themselves with the gild structure set up by the large majority of natives.

In the case of Frankenthal our information is very unsatisfactory. Not only are the sources inadequate, but also very little is to be found in them on economic activity. Since this colony is of special interest, however, because it was the earliest of the new-founded refugee communities, something may be said about it.[50] The weaving of say and grogram was carried on here under Frederick III. The saymakers were organized and given an ordinance in 1582, and in 1590, along with the grogram-weavers, received a *Saien- und Grobgrün-ordnung*.[51] Silk trades were represented by velvet and silk weavers. The Netherlandish type of industry and organization was brought directly to Frankenthal.[52] Goldsmiths are mentioned in the record books of 1593 and 1597; and in 1596 they obtained an ordinance.[53] It is not known whether the economic system at Frankenthal followed the same lines of development that were described in the case of Hanau, nor to what extent its organization was influenced by the new German environment on the one hand and by the Dutch origin on the other.

50 An incomplete, but nevertheless worth-while picture of the industrial activity of the refugees at Frankenthal may be obtained by a study of the lists in the church books, printed in Adolf von den Velden (ed.), *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg, 1567-1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz, 1577-1596* (Weimar, 1908): members, 1578, pp. 4-7; deaths, 1580-1594, pp. 8-18; marriages, pp. 19-29. *Idem* (ed.), *Régistres de l'Eglise Reformée Néerlandaise de Frankenthal au Palatinat, 1565-1689* (Brüssel, 1911-13, 2 vols. Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme belge, *Documents historiques*, II, III), II, 1-45, marriages in the Dutch church.

51 Wille, *Stadt und Festung Frankenthal*, 21 ff.; Witzel, "Studien," 173; Cuno, "Frankenthal," DHV*Gbl.*, III3, 14. The material in this last is taken directly out of Wille!

52 Wille, *Frankenthal*, 21.

53 Paul Ladewig, "Pfälzer Goldschmiederechnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. IV (1889), 507.

According to Eberhard Gothein, however, no such policy of economic freedom as found favor among refugees settled as a minority in cities controlled by natives had a place in the economic attitude of Frankenthal.[54] In this town the refugees, dominating economic life, chose voluntarily a system of gild and regulation that would have been strongly opposed by exiles living in cities where a majority of natives dominated economic life.

Through this chapter a theme has run, a theme that brings out a contrast between Frankfurt on the one hand and Hanau and Frankenthal on the other. Only in Germany can this contrast be made, because elsewhere all the settlements were of the former type only, namely, minority groups of exiles welcomed in towns and cities in which a strong industrial organization already existed, to which they had to adapt themselves in some manner. The rural colonies planted in Prussia by Duke Albrecht cannot be used in the working out of this scheme, though they were also *"neu-begründet,"* because they remained rural in character and did not develop industrial characteristics of any sort. In the Rhineland, then, lies the interesting division of refugee colonies into two types. No clear-cut differentiation, of course, is possible, aside from the obvious facts of their entrance into old communities or their foundation of new ones. Nevertheless, as has been shown, a contrast can be drawn between the effects of one environment and those of another. Rivalry and conflict with an established gild system that tended to subject the exiles to unwanted regulation resulted in a more revolutionary attitude toward economic tradition; while freedom to develop in a closed community, without the domination of a native majority, led in some degree at least to a reaffirmation and reinstitution of the traditional outlook. In other words, here is another example of the influence on economic attitudes exercised by the subjection of a minority to the will of a majority. Whatever system is supported by the majority, if it acts to the detriment of the minority, the latter will inevitably become revolutionary and do whatever it can to overcome that system. In the case of the refugees, they were a minority in

54 Gothein, "Mannheim im ersten Jahrhundert seines Bestehens," 131: "Das Prinzip der freien wirtschaftlichen Bewegung, als dessen Träger die welschen Flüchtlinge schon demals oft in den alten Reichstäden erschienen, wo sie sich als ein Keil in das alte Bürgertum einschoben, hat hier keine Geltung, wo sie in geschlossener Reihe sassen."

cities like Frankfurt and Hamburg, forced to some extent to adapt themselves to an organization the control of which lay in the hands of the native population. Pursuit of trades outside of the gilds and demands for economic freedom therefore characterized their attitude. When they were allowed, on the other hand, to found a new town and become a closed community unto themselves, then revolutionary tendencies were not noticeable. It must not be concluded from these statements that the refugee groups in such places as Frankenthal and Hanau were conservative and traditional. They were only so in comparison with their brethren in Frankfurt and Hamburg. That the prominent influence of the environment of a minority does not necessarily exclude other factors affecting economic attitudes is shown by the striking innovations that may be found among the refugees in both majority and minority circumstances. This question will be taken up in more detail in the concluding chapter, in which there is a discussion of the influence of the religious beliefs of the Calvinist Netherlanders upon their industrial life.

CHAPTER VII

SWITZERLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS

Ali 12 del detto mese di Maggio et li giorni seguenti gionsero in Zuricco anime cento sedici. Altri erano sparsi quà et là.
Contemporary Italian record

Het is een arm voghel die maer een niet nest en heeft. Het aerdryck behoort den Heere toe ende alles dat daer in is. Verbieden zij mij een stad: myn god ende myn vader heefter zoo menigh duijzent ende waer hij wil, daer zal ick wonen.
A Dutch refugee, Adrian Hambstedius

The refugee movements in the two smaller areas, Switzerland and Holland, are both special cases, and thus deserve treatment together. In Switzerland the outstanding variation was the establishment of important colonies of Italian Protestants, not to mention the great migration of French refugees to their entrepot, Geneva; in the Low Countries the distinctive feature was the exchange of population between the Southern and Northern Provinces. Although these movements are of no less moment than those in the larger areas already considered, they can still be discussed in a smaller space, because a factor similar to the law of diminishing returns is operative. That is to say, many characteristics were common to any and all settlements, and need not be repeated, once they have been treated. The main concern of the following chapter, therefore, is the particular and special features that differentiate one environment from another. So in the case of the Swiss Cantons and Holland many characteristics common to England and Germany appear—and these can be treated with proper brevity. On other points differences are to be noted—and these must receive fuller attention.

1. Switzerland

The legal status of exiles in Switzerland was much the same as in Germany, since the chief cities made separate agreements with the groups of foreigners who sought admittance. Arrangements were always made with the Council or Assembly of each of the free towns. The question of citizenship, how-

ever, played a large part in the relations with the government. When some refugees asked to be admitted and settled in Zürich in 1558, the Great Council decided to treat them in the spirit of Christian love; but none were to be made citizens. This of course entailed numerous restrictions: foreigners were forbidden to buy houses, or to take up new trades, or to exercise more than one trade without special consent of the magistrates.[1] In most cases the rights of native citizens were jealously guarded against any encroachment on the part of mere residents. When, as the result of an opposite policy in Geneva, large numbers of French refugees were admitted to the rights of bourgeoisie, the threat—and finally the actuality—of domination of the city's ecclesiastical and political organization by "foreigners" led to vigorous complaints and violent uprisings on the part of the native citizens..[2] At Basel, where the magistrates generally maintined a dignified reserve, aliens were received into the bourgeoisie only on the basis of their potential value and worth to the community. Wealthy merchants were welcomed; but poor workmen had little to hope for.[3] The gulf between citizens and residents was extraordinarily deep, because citizenship was a prerequisite for participation not only in political and civil activities but also in economic life.[4] "The Council at Basel held it as its first duty to protect and advance the established citizenry, and to do this in the narrow gild spirit that at this time prevailed. . . . The result was that within the walls of Basel only the most privileged families found a reception; while Zürich, Bern, and the Vaud were flooded with poor workers and even unskilled laborers, Basel on the other hand was one of the most popular points of assembly for rich and educated refugees, for the choicest society among the strangers."[5] Between 1565 and

1 Ferdinand Meyer, *Die evangelische Gemeinde in Locarno, ihre Auswanderung nach Zürich und ihre weitern Schicksale* (Zürich, 1836, 2 vols.), II, 154. Another restriction, one found commonly in England, was the strict oversight of the lodging of the itinerant refugees with friends in the city.

2 See references above to the situation in Geneva.

3 Geering, *Handel und Industrie der Stadt Basel*, 446. Quite often limitations were placed on individual rights: when the Milan shipping agents, Ravalasca, Caldarini, and D'Anone were made citizens, they still had to pay commercial duties as formerly; a refugee lace-dealer was forbidden to buy lace by the ell; children were generally excluded from the benefits of their parents' naturalization. Cf. August Huber, "Die Refugianten in Basel," Die Gesellschaft zur Beförderung des Guten und Gemeinnützigen, *Neujahrsblatt*, LXXV (1897), 28.

4 Geering, *Handel*, 445. Hence citizenship was given to a larger proportion, but these were a select group.

5 *Ibid.*, 447.

about 1596 relative generosity prevailed at Basel, especially after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. But from the end of the century until 1618 a reaction set in, which was only relaxed after the beginning of the Thirty Years' War.

One of the great contributions of Italy to Switzerland was the art of making fine cloth, especially silk. The Italian exiles, driven from Locarno to Zürich, and finally to Basel, brought with them the new silk industry and the culture of the mulberry tree. Already in 1565, Vangelista Zanino had set on foot in Zürich an enterprise for the planting of mulberry trees and the making of silk.[6] His comprehensive plan included also the raising of silk-worms, the construction of a mill, the weaving of bombazine, and the dyeing of cloth with materials —woads and dyer's trees[7]—he planned to grow. To these proposals the Council gave its consent, and even helped him by providing a house and a meadow for the cultivation of his mulberry trees. Velvet was one of the cloths made at Zürich.[8] At Basel, whither many of the Zürich exiles came when regulation there became too strict, an even greater florescence of the cloth industry resulted. In 1569 Marcus Perez laid before the Council an ambitious project for the manufacture of cloth; but nothing was done about it at the time.[9] Among the most famous of the Italian refugee families in Basel was that of the Pellizari, who had been scattered all over Lombardy, were citizens in several cities, and were considered among the nobility, although there existed no proof of it. A couple of the members of this family came to Basel in 1573, more arrived a year later, dealers in, and dyers and weavers of, silk and velvet.[10] First of all they undertook a large business trading in silk yarn; but also they established an enterprise in silk dyeing. Among the many Locarnese who were engaged in the same kind of activity the Pellizari differed not so much in the quality of their work

6 Meyer, *Locarno*, II, 281, and Appendix XXXII, 403-05. Meyer, although old, is the best book on the economic life of the Locarnese refugees. On Zanino see also Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés de la Reforme en Suisse*, 43 f., who describes his many activities.

7 Woads: that is, *Waids*, a plant used in dyeing; dyer's tree: *Gelbkraut*, known also as wig-tree, smoke-bush.

8 Huber, *Basel*, 22.

9 Geering, *Handel*, 467.

10 *Ibid.*, 468.

as in the quantity of production and the magnitude of the commerce in silk.[11] When they started business in 1575, they had fifteen workingmen, mostly Italians and Savoyards; in the next eight years they took on fifteen more, giving a total throughout the period of from fifteen to thirty workmen, a number extraordinarily large for the times. Netherlanders who were proficient in weaving velvet and dyeing silk were also taken by these ambitious business executives.[12] Beside this important traffic in velvet and silk arose the lace industry by Huguenot refugees, of more permanent duration than those trades introduced by the Locarnese, surviving the centuries to remain today an important activity of the city of Basel, in the form of ribbon-weaving. The long stream of lace makers was started by Antoine (de) Lescailles, from Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, who arrived in 1573. Combining manufacturing with trading, he joined the gild called the *Safronzunft* in 1577, opened a shop for silk goods, and in 1579 entered the *Schlüsselzunft*. To the four workmen employed at the beginning he later added five more and then four more. Unfortunately for him, he became involved in theological conflicts, and was banished in 1592.[13] One of his workmen, however, Christian Huart by name, having become independent in 1588, caried on the business; and one of the third generation carried on after him . The first of the natives of Basel to enter the new industry were two men who began work in 1599. One refugee in the city, a Netherlander, asked for citizenship in 1579, saying he was an embroiderer of silk.[14] There were also weavers and dyers of wool, and linen-workers, and makers of hats and berets, between whom rivalry developed.[15] An interesting alteration in the position

11 *Ibid.*, 471.

12 A later example of large-scale industry in Basel is that of Pierre Bémonté, who became a citizen in 1595, and between 1597 and 1606 used 24 workmen, mostly from southern France.

13 On this man see Geering, *Handel*, 483 ff.

14 *Ibid.*, 487: He said he was "ein Seidensticker, welches ich von Jugend auf erlernt hab und machte ich Sammeta Schlarappen und Baretten, Seidenhut, Seidenknöpf, Seidenfransen, Seidenschleiffen, Spaltbendel und alles das, so von Siden uf mancherlei Wis, was der Mensch erdencker mag, kann gemacht werden."

15 Geering, *Handel*, 509 ff., 518 f. At Lausanne we hear of refugee cloth workers who made "*Indienne-fabrikanten*" (Burckardt, "Basel," 332). And at Neuchatel arose a lace-bobbin industry, brought in by refugees. Of the stranger hatmakers the largest establishments were those of Mattis II Büchel with 26 workmen, Mattis III Büchel with 24, Berhard Vonspir with 45, Hans Frey with 35, and Michel Henner with 38. The largest number held at any one time by any of them, however, was only five.

of the beret-makers occurred around the middle of the century: the beret was giving way to the hat; but the beret-makers did not disappear; rather they ceased making berets of velvet and wool cloth and took up the manufacture of the new head-covering, the embroidered wool cap.[16]

As in the other countries that have been studied, the exiles engaged in sundry trades besides textile manufacturing. The importance of the cloth merchants has already been mentioned. At Basel developed the trade of making paper; but it ran into difficulties from the competition of rival mills set up in the neighborhood.[17] Finally, a notable branch of refugee activity lay in agricultural pursuits: gardeners and wine-makers settled in the city and vicinity of Bern, coming mostly from the overflow of Geneva.[18] And at Basel some of the French refugees brought new and improved methods to the culture of the vine and introduced new vegetables.[19]

The wealth of the refugees is not known in any great detail, nor is it known whether those who were richer came into exile as people of means or obtained their possessions after they arrived. As has been seen, many were wealthy merchants, whose flourishing trade, especially in cloth goods, brought them large incomes. Others bought grain on the Zürich market, exported it to Italy, obtained Italian products in return, and sold them cheaply in Zürich to their own great profit. Some left great estates behind when they died, as, for example, David de Busanton, from Hainault, who gave to the poor of Strasbourg one thousand crowns and a similar sum to the poor of Geneva.[20] The Italians who came to Geneva were for the most part of the upper classes, and thus had respectable resources when they came.[21] Some of them made large contributions to the new college in which Calvin was the chief figure. These richer strangers, however, were not in the majority, and the influx of more

16 Geering, *Handel*, 512.

17 *Ibid.*, 526.

18 *Ibid.*, 482.

19 Burckhardt, "Basel," 331.

20 Gautier, *Histoire de Genève*, III, 230.

21 Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés*, 69. M., however, is too optimistic, leads one to conclude that no financial difficulties were encountered by the exiles. The opposite is the truth, as is amply demonstrated by the section on subsidies.

refugees into cities like Geneva created a serious problem.[22] Apparently there was much to be desired in the financial administration of the refugee colonies in Switzerland. Lack of financial stability characterized the community at Zürich, because the leaders lacked the power and the others lacked the foresight and unselfishness necessary for the development of sound policy in matters of money.[23] At first there was reluctance to invest funds at interest, although this was advised by the authorities; later business of this nature was undertaken. Many of the exiles expected that opportunity to return home would soon be forthcoming, and hence they made demands upon the elders for advances of funds amounting to 25, 30, even 100 crowns, without interest.

In the administration of poor relief the Swiss refugees were not behind their fellows in Germany and England. At Zürich the church bought a fishing net for Stefano Pebbia and supported him in other ways.[24] It gave assistance to individuals in bringing together their scattered families; the son of one Filippo Appiano was sent to Locarno to recover from an illness; and the lame "Rosalina" went to Baden for a cure at the behest of the church; and the widow of the "unfortunate Nicolao," staying in Locarno, was sent money, and her son was brought to Zürich for training in a trade.[25] Transient refugees found a

22 As Theodore de Bèze wrote to Bullinger on Nov. 20, 1568, "The number of necessitous is large, and we have among them many students to whom we are not able to give all the assistance desirable." Mörikofer, *Histoire*, 92. He quotes more of the letter in French translation, telling of the need of indigent preachers: "The most lack not only food, but also clothing."

23 Meyer, *Die evangelische Gemeinde in Locarno*, II, 35.

24 *Ibid.*, 31. In some cases the magistracy came to the refugees' assistance, as, for example, in 1555, when the Ratsmanualien contain the following entry: "Mine herren jst angelangt, das der vischer vnnd anndere von Luggarus grossen hunger vnnd mangel lyden müssind, desshalben jr beuelch das die herren vfiuger jm allmusseu denselben hilff thus vnd darzu gwalt haben söllind, Vnd söllind Sechelmeyster Edlibach melcher wirtz J. Hans Cunrat Escher vnd M. Bernhart Sprüngli by den Luggarneren nachfrag halten, wahin jr gelt so jnen geschennckt worden, komen sige, vnnd daran sin das dasselbig vnnder die armen vsstheylt, vnnd nit nun den rychen jnn jren hennden belybe."

25 *Ibid.*, 32. The church records state: "E piu alli figlioli gia di Nicolao Greco nostro [fratello] nel Sr. a Locarno sol. 6" And in the protocol of the Assembly, 1558: ". . . fu principalmente publicamente letta una lettra mandata da Mada. Catherina del Greco di Locarno a tutta questa Chiesa, nella quale essa pregava la Chiesa per amor di Giesu Christo N. S. a voler haver compassione alla sua misera et calamitosa conditione, con volerla haver per raccomandata, specialmente pregando la Chiesa nostra che di presente fusse prima instituito nella Chrna. religione, et insieme si metesse ad imparer qualche honesto essercitio."

never-failing hospitality among the exiles in Zürich, and in most of the other centers. Moreover, help was not limited to members of the local group: indigent preachers driven out of the small refugee community of Heidelberg were relieved by the Zürich congregation.[26] In this policy it was following the general practice of all the exiled groups, a practice deserving considerable praise for its testimony to the very real sense of mutual responsibility and brotherly affection that pervaded the spirit of these stalwart defenders of their faith.

This is not to say that the Swiss churches and people did not do their utmost to help. After the resources of the people of Geneva had been exhausted, the ministers of that city wrote in 1568 to the ministers of Zürich, recounting the difficulties experienced in supporting the large number of French exiles, and asking for their aid, although "not wanting to become too great a burden on our neighbors."[27] A month later one thousand francs arrived in answer to the request. Assistance also came from Basel, Bern, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall. Sometimes persons were sent through all the Protestant Cantons soliciting funds for the support of overburdened refugee centers like Geneva.[28] When the Massacre of St. Bartholomew sent new and greater waves of refugees flying from the land of France, Switzerland — especially Geneva and Zürich — was again the haven most easily accessible. Some 2,360 families, of whom 1,638 came to the territories of Geneva, fled from the Catholic reaction. A solemn picture of the arrival of the struggling host of fugitives has been painted by J. Gaberel in his now outdated history of the church in Geneva, starting with the bringing of the news from Lyon, preparations in anticipation of the influx, and finally the appearance of the tired and weary *"voyageurs."*[29] Aid continued to be given to the refugees as long as they stayed in Switzerland. Furthermore, the Cantons sought to promote peace and toleration of Protestants in France itself. In 1575 an embassy from four of them petitioned Henry III in favor of the Protestants in and out of his realm, apparently not with-

26 *Ibid.*, 34: "20. Oct. 1577: s'è messo ne la colletta fatta ne la chiese per li ministri scacciati da Heidelberga dal nuovo Principe, 2 sol." The "new prince" was Ludwig VI of the Palatinate.

27 Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés*, 93.

28 Gautier, *Histoire de Genève*, IV, 614.

29 Quoted in Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés*, 100 f.

cut success.[30] On the other hand, although they refused to follow their historic policy by supplying fighting men to the King who oppressed their co-religionists, they had no compunction about furnishing money. Bern was the first to fall in line, and Basel and Zürich later lend money to the French crown.

Not only did aid come from the government and from Swiss church organizations, but also from individual patrons like Marco Perez and Hans von Amerbach. The former, a Spanish Jew and a great merchant and banker, fled from the Low Countries to Basel when the Duke of Alva descended upon the land, and there took a deep interest in the other refugees. He received Casiodoro de Reina and his whole family into his house, cared for him during an illness, and later supported him with money payments.[31] Amerbach exerted himself in favor of various exiles.[32]

One of the most interesting features of the economic history of the sixteenth century was the transformation of Switzerland from a medieval hold-over in danger of becoming fast bound by a narrow gild system into one of the chief industrial centers of Europe. And one of the most fascinating problems of the religious history of the sixteenth century is the relation of the Swiss Reformation in its various aspects to that transformaton. The two metamorphoses occurred at the same time and in the same places: it is impossible that mutual influences were not present and effective. And the environment in which they were most closely connected and inter-related was that of the refugee colonies.

At the beginning of the century Swiss economy displayed no signs of joining in the march of economic progress that had been started by Italy. It was backward and deeply committed to the gild system, apparently had no desire to escape from it. During the second half of the period, however, Switzerland saw a development of a new basis for industrial activity that was so rapid, thorough, and lasting that the little country, far from remaining behind, was among the foremost.[33] A result of

30 For example the message sent to Zürich, 1576, by the churches of S. France, in which appreciation was expressed for the help given.
31 Geering, *Handel*, 454 f.
32 Church, *The Italian Reformers*, 96.
33 Hans Nabholz *et al.*, *Geschichte der Schweiz* (Zürich, 1932-38, 2 vols.), I, 317 f.

the rapid metamorphosis, which in the field of geology produces some odd rock formations, was here the rise of a sort of hybrid industrial organization, which Maliniak has called *Zunftkapitalismus;* that is, a truly capitalistic economy adapted to the *form* of the gild system, a modern content in a medieval framework. The old framework was provided by the native organizaton of the Swiss cities; the new system was brought by the refugees. One may generalize to include at least the Protestant portions of Switzerland in the judgment of Maliniak in the case of one city: *"Mit der Immigration der Locarner beginnt die Epoche der wirtschaftlichen Blüte Zürichs."*[34] The effect of the Italians in bringing in a new concept of economic activity and organization has been noted before. The French refugees, coming from southern and central France, had a system of small industry, in general the domestic system using the putting-out technique. But in Italy already had arisen a more ambitious kind of structure, involving larger units, factories, and localized production.[35] Most spectacular in the cloth industry, not only weavers but also spinners, throwers, and dyers were formed along the new lines. The degree of development varied of course, in each city: very little activity was found in Bern, a city without much industry and commerce; Zürich was deeply influenced by the Locarnese, but spewed them out finally, after the strict gild organization proved just a little too strong; at Basel, where the Italians settled after their departure from Zürich, industrial activity by refugees in new directions was noteworthy and extremely significant.[36] Geneva, impressed most by the French exiles, rose to prominence through the flourishing printing trade and the special art of watch and clock making, and was by no means untouched by the new industrial spirit.[37] All in all, the economic influence of the refugees in Switzerland can hardly be exaggerated.

When the fluid character of industrial life in the Cantons

34 J. Maliniak, *Die Entstehung der Exportindustrie und des Unternehmerstandes in Zürich im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (Zürich & Leipzig, 1913), 61.

35 Geering, *Handel*, 462.

36 Nabholz, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, I, 463.

37 Cf. Geering, *Grundzüge einer schweizerischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Bern, 1912), 10-13; and Mörikofer, 66: "Il y aurait injustice à faire dater de la Reformation l'activité industrielle de Genève; mais on ne saurait nier que la nombreuse immigration des réfugiés ne lui ait communiqué une puissante impulsion."

is considered, it is not surprising that conflicts and struggles developed that involved the strangers. Especially obvious was this antagonism at Zürich, where the leaders as well as the people lacked the zeal and the enterprising spirit necessary for the recognition and support of new branches of business and work. It took the form of restrictions on economic activity by foreigners. Zürich had already in 1546 stated its position clearly when it passed a law that prohibited for ten years the granting of citizenship to anyone born outside the Cantons; and this policy was explicitly reaffirmed upon the occasion of the arrival of the Locarnese.[38] Various limitations were placed on their activity: they were forbidden to engage in trades already filled by natives; they were directed to produce for wholesale only, and for export. In a reaction against the unusually large industrial enterprises of ambitious Italian refugees, such as Pariso Appiano, who employed twelve workers and ran six looms, and Vangelista Zanino, who dabbled in greatly varied cloth trades, the Velvet Weavers' Ordinance of 1568 was promulgated by the Council.[39] Referring in the Prologue to complaints against Zanino, which had been brought forward by the small masters, including many of his own nationality, the Ordinance made a number of important stipulations: only trained Locarnese weavers should be allowed to weave velvet, and each should have no more than four looms;[40] only children of natives and of the Italians who had been permitted to settle in Zürich should be taken as apprentices and journeymen; all was forbidden Zanino, but he was allowed to continue his work under certain conditions; in general velvet-weaving should be free and unhampered; a three year period of apprenticeship was required, and after this one more year's service with a master; after this one could become a master only upon presentation of a masterpiece—or, if this could not be done, then six months' more service was required, plus the payment of one-half gulden; finally there were a number of stipulations on the size and type of cloth. By means of this Ordinance the city enforced rules against liberal elements, a move fatal for its own health. Disgusted and discouraged by these and other regulations, the Locarnese—at least the enterprising among them—left Zürich and

38 Meyer, *Locarno*, II, 137 f.

39 Cf. Geering, *Handel*, 464 f.

40 So in the text as printed by Werner Schnyder (ed.), *Quellen zur Zürcher Zunftgeschichte* (Zürich, 1936, 2 vols.), I, 330. Geering, *Handel*, 465, says two!

went to Basel, where they hoped for and obtained better conditions. There no such strict limitations were laid down.

All was not peace and blissful co-operation, however, in the northern city either. The petty bourgeoisie saw in the refugees a threat to themselves, and sought, by means of influence with the Council, to surround themselves with a wall of protective ordinances.[41] Only in very exceptional cases were exiles allowed to occupy for themselves private houses, at least if they were mere residents. Almost all such folk lodged with natives in their houses.[42] Moreover, a sort of levelling democratic movement sought to prevent rich naturalized refugees from taking two or three houses and putting them together to make one.[43] Thus opposition came not only on economic grounds as such, but also on broad social ones. Many of the refugees had risen rapidly to positions of wealth and influence, and as a result sought to acquire the accouterments that were thought to accompany the new-won dignity.[44] The old-fashioned Gothic dwellings would not do; rather, they wanted the new and elegant Renaissance and Baroque styles that had found such favor in Italy. With elaborate gardens, with expensive clothing, with costly foods they would emphasize their good fortune and present high standing. Not that all the refugees achieved such high success. Most of them remained industrious, fairly well-to-do craftsmen, some of them falling into the prevailing trend toward transformation of the journeyman and small master into a permanent wage earner, others independently working outside of the gild, as in the case of the hatmakers,[45] who caused complaints from native workingmen.

In the city of Geneva strong opposition developed; but this was so closely tied up with the political confusion that it would be difficult to extract the purely economic motives be-

41 Cf. Bruckhardt, "Die französischen Religionsflüchtlinge in Basel," 319-320.

42 Huber, *Die Refugianten in Basel*, 30 f. Here is another example, besides that of Strasbourg, of the practice of hostage, as it was called in England.

43 Geering, *Handel*, 494.

44 Geering, *Handel*, 491 f.

45 *Ibid.*, 511.

hind it.[46] Hence, in Switzerland as elsewhere little peace attended the life of exiles from their native France or Italy or Holland. It is now necessary to turn, partly in retrospect, to the situation in the Low Countries, in order that two things may be ascertained: first, the conditions that caused the great upheaval that scattered Netherlanders over the face of Europe; and second, the nature of the migration that took place between the southern and the northern Provinces. Since the first of these has already been studied and fully analyzed in other works, only the second requires full attention here.[47]

2. The Netherlands

The same factors that caused the Dutch and Walloon emigration to England, Germany, and Switzerland brought about a significant migration from the Southern Provinces to the North. The factors involved were both religious and economic. From the middle of the fourteenth century difficulties had confronted the Flemish clothworkers, and these became critical in the next hundred years. For one thing the price of wool, the indispensable raw material, went up and up, making English wool almost impossibly high.[48] For another thing the growth of the English cloth industry, immeasurably accelerated by the settlement of Flemish and Walloon refugees in that country, confronted the Dutch cloth industry with competition such as it had never before experienced.[49] One result of these movements was the transference of the commercial center of the Netherlands from Flanders to Antwerp itself, which became the great trading city of the Continent. The revival of cloth-making came not from the cities, where workers and gilds continued to follow much the same pattern of activity as they always had,

46 It is not necessary to go into the problem of the political conflicts in Geneva during these years. They have been fully and adequately treated in such books as Doumergue, *Jean Calvin;* Gautier, *Histoire de Genève;* and Choisy's two volumes on Geneva in the time of Calvin and Bèze. Unavoidably involved in them, the refugees suffered much from political restriction such as the prohibition of the renting of houses to strangers without giving notice to the captain of the quarter, and the law against the carrying of arms. Some of the natives applied to them the odious epithet "Bannis Français."

47 On this see Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique.*

48 During the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII the duty on wool in England was 33% for merchants of the Staple and 70% for other exporters. Cf. Schanz, *Englische Handelsgeschichte,* I, 440 f.

49 Henri Pirenne, "Une crise industrielle au XVIe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique,* Classe des lettres, No. 5 (1905), 495 f.; *Histoire de Belgique,* III, 220.

and consequently fell victim to the flourishing business of England;[50] rather, from the rural or semi-rural areas, those regions in southern Flanders around Armentieres, Lille, Tournay, appeared as if by chance that *neue Tuchmacherei,* that trade in the "new draperies," of which mention has already been made.[51] In the sixteenth century the time was ripe for an independent development of economic life in the Low Countries. This was one reason why the interference in business and the devastation brought about by the Duke of Alva and others led many inhabitants to seek their fortune elsewhere. The other factor was religious. Since it is too well known and generally recognized to require amplification here, bare mention of the repressive anti-Protestant régime imposed on the Provinces by King Philip II of Spain will suffice. Many citizens of towns dominated by the Spaniards could endure, and perhaps escape, the economic restrictions and political and military interference; but when their right to worship God as they saw fit, not in a Catholic church but in a Protestant temple, was challenged, then a showdown became inevitable. If hundreds of them had the courage to endure martyrdom or imprisonment for their faith, thousands more gathered together the members of their families and as much of their possessions as possible, and fled before the wrath of Alva, sought refuge in foreign lands, or—for the present purpose more important—in the Northern Provinces.

Settling in many of the large cities of Holland,[52] they made important contributions to both the spiritual and the industrial life of the North. Haarlem, striving to recover from the devastation and pillage of the seven months' siege of 1572 and 1573, wanted to attract new inhabitants. Most welcome, then, were any refugees who came there from Artois, Hainault, Valenciennes, and later from St. Quentin, both Flemish, who joined the Dutch church there, and Walloons, who formed a congregation of their own.[53] Since there existed a much closer sense of fellowship between the southern and northern inhabitants of the Low Countries, settlement was much more informal and non-legal in character. Exiles, having arrived, were welcomed by the city, settled down and began life anew. As to

50 Pirenne, "Une crise," 501; *Histoire de Belgique,* III, 220.

51 Pirenne, "Une crise," 516; *Histoire de Belgique,* III, 228-230.

52 See above, 26 f.

53 Gagnebin, "L'église wallonne de Harlem," 204 f.

trades, the same thing could be said for this movement as for the others: they were many and sundry, and the cloth trades predominated. By the end of the century silk-making was established in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Haarlem, brought there from Antwerp.[54] Fustian was introduced from Bruges, the making of "cangeanten" (that is, changing or scintillating fabrics) from Rijssel, quilting from Duffel, and so forth.[55] The cloth industry in Rotterdam flourished. In the refugee communities of Holland care was also taken to provide poor relief in the great tradition of England and Germany. Attention was paid to this aspect of the life of the church at Leyden[56] and at Haarlem,[57] among others.

Warning has already been given that the extent of the influence of the migration from the South to the North should not be exaggerated.[58] To state that *"les Wallons devinrent pour les villes dans lesquelles ils s'établirent un élément de prospérité,"*[59] is justifiable; but to make excessive claims that exclude the consideration of other factors is to disregard the truth. Van Schelven has colorfully described interpretations of this sort:

> De traditioneele schildering der immigratie is op dit punt gewoonlijk vooral opgezet in vroolijk rood en schitterend goud. Ja, soms nadert ze zelfs bijna de apotheose. Is Holland voor een eeuw de wakkerste en krachtigste staat van Europa geweest, hebben die stoere, stijve oud-Hollanders, die amsterdamsche pikbroeken, na lang mokkend in een hoek te hebben gestaan, eindelijk eens den moed gegrepen om den handel van een-onsje-over-detoonbank in echt zaken-doen om te zetten en daarvoor desnoods voor lang van moeders pappot afscheid te nemen, dan is het 't zuid-nederlandsche bloed, dat dat wonder tot stand heeft gebracht.[60]

In one field, for example, the influence of the refugees seems not to have been felt: in a study of the nationality of the founders of the first four commercial Companies, established between 1596 and 1598, it was found that in three of them not one person was of southern extraction.[61] In commenting on the fact that prosperity was brought to Antwerp not so much by

54 Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbes*, 71.
55 Van Schelven, *Omvang en Invloed*, 32.
56 Rieu, "Lambert Daneau à Leyde," *loc. cit.*, 81.
57 Gagnebin, "L'église . . . de Harlem," 208, 210.
58 Cf. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, IV, 413.
59 Bourlier, "Souvenir . . . de la Haye," 2.
60 Van Schelven, *Omvang en Invloed*, 24 f.
61 *Ibid.*, 26.

the native inhabitants as by foreign merchants and others who settled in the city, Van Schelven is moved to remark:

> . . . dan is het voor mij eer de vraag of ten aanzien van den handel de Zuid-Nederlanders niet door de Noordelijken zijn geinstigeerd, dan of Hollanders en Zeeuwen door Vlamingen en Brabanters op sleeptouw zijn genomen.[62]

Moreover, the actual size of the emigration can be placed too high. Some have said over 100,000; but probably the numbers were not greater, may have been less.[63]

If the number of refugees was not enormous, and if their influence was not predominant over all other factors, still one can emphasize with confidence the signficant role they played. They did bring new industries; they did introduce new methods in cloth manufacture; they did participate in making the "new draperies"; and in doing so they did alter the industrial organization and the economic attitudes that till then had been based on the traditional gild system and the "old draperies." Probably the best generalization is that of Pirenne: *"Mais si l'exode ne semble point avoir été tres important en quantité, il le fut, en revanche, en qualité."*[64]

62 *Ibid.*, 28.
63 Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, IV, 338.
64 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFUGEE MOVEMENT AS AN ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS FORCE

Aengaende dat ghy my overscrijft dat ick u schrijven soude, hoe dat het hier metter neeringhe gaet eñ oft ghy hier den cost soudt cōnē ghewynnē, ick hadde beter betrauwen van uwen gheloove gehadt. . . . Eñ daeromme bidde ick u, dat ghy soo seere niet en soorcht voor het tijdelijcke, dat ghy het eeuwighe vergheten wilt.

. . . . . .

. . . want men hier meer coopt om een stuiver dan, soo ick hoore, t' IJper om drie.

A refugee in Norwich to a friend in Ypres.

Vast forces were at work in the sixteenth century. When to the noteworthy political revolutions are added the equally significant and more fundamental economic and religious upheavals, the panorama becomes a kaleidoscope of exceeding complexity and ever-changing motion, yet also of rich tone and scintillating color. The sixteenth was not a century of static attitudes and poses, but an epoch of almost unlimited innovation and Protean transformation. He who would study any particular force at work there must realize that his historical material was subject to the infinite variety of influences that characterizes the century, influences springing from the Reformation and the religious currents running strong, from the industrial and agricultural contortions of the age, from the cultural revelations of the Renaissance and the new visions opened up by the voyages of discovery and exploration, and from the broad social eruptions that broke out over the whole surface of European civilization. So, then, for the refugee movement. One factor among many, inextricably linked with others, this force cannot be isolated and treated as self-explanatory. The direct result is the statement of the problem of the precise influence exercised by the religious refugees. The presence not only of non-religious — or non-refugee — factors, but also of non-religious refugees complicates the situation to such an extent that sometimes it becomes impossible to extricate from the muddy *milieu* the exiles for the sake of conscience. This problem forms the introduction to the discussion of refugee influence.

1. Economic Influence

Throughout Europe aliens carried on business in almost every country. These folk were in no way similar to refugees of any sort, much less to religious refugees. They were not exiles from anywhere nor for any cause. They were simply merchants or artisans working in lands other than their own. They were the merchants of the Steelyard in London, the foreigners in the market and bourse of Antwerp. They can, if their numbers and position are known, be taken into account and kept separate from the folk who are the chief subject of this study. Next to them, occupying a somewhat different place, were the groups of skilled workmen brought into certain countries, especially England and some regions of Germany, by enlightened and progressive rulers. The introduction of Flemish weavers by Edward III and the settlement of aliens in the mining country are types for these groups. Quite likely they would want their own religious services—after the Reformation Protestant services—but their aim in migrating was not to find a place where they could worship freely, nor even to escape economic or political persecution. They were merely desirous of settling in a country where their worldly condition would be improved. Alongside them, however, were others, who, although they likewise had no religious grounds for leaving their natives lands, yet fled from some form of persecution, either political, as in the case of some French exiles, or economic, as in the case of many Netherlanders. They were obviously refugees. But they were not religious refugees—and there the difficulty in the whole situation arises. To what extent were the effects of aliens in industry, and, to be more specific, of *refugees* in industry, due to the operation of forces brought to bear by *religious* exiles? On the basis of materials available the question is not completely answerable; only approximate judgments can be made. An attempt has been made in this work to keep separate, as far as possible, the activity of the specifically religious refugees from that of exiles and fugitives in particular and of aliens in general.[1] This has been done with the full realization that only a fairly accurate approximation of the desired separation could be attained.

1 Thus no attention has been paid to the political exiles from England, participants in Dudley's Conspiracy.

So much for the limitations of the influence exercised by the *Glaubensflüchtlinge*. On the other hand consideration must be given to the fact that often the effects of their activity were felt far beyond the realm of their direct connection with the lands of their adoption. In England, for example, the decline of the export trade in the latter part of the sixteenth century at Hull, a place where refugees did not settle at all, is attributable to their influence: they made bays and other cloth from the native wool that formerly was exported to the Continent; they themselves explained that "before the Baies were made in England the felles with the woole were sent over beyonde the seas by the marchauntes of the Staple."[2] Since the trade at Hull was largely in hides and wool, the connection is obvious.

One more generalization is in order: the uniformity observable through the whole refugee movement. These exiles, coming as they did for the most part from the Low Countries —Walloon or Dutch—brought with them the same kind of background, the same customs, and the same ideas. Although they settled in radically different types of environment, their life generally displayed many of the same characteristics.[3]

Plentiful are the judgments that have been passed on the importance of the refugee movement as a whole and in its particular phases. Attention has already been given to the benefits that resulted, interpreted in the "before-and-after" manner. Since such interpretations, however, are at best incomplete and superficial, the topic will be treated not from the approach looking for "benefits," but rather from the point of view seeking "influences."

Influence on economic institutions and development operates in different ways, mainly three: (1) introduction of new and expansion or resuscitation of old industries; (2) importation of new methods, new techniques; (3) alteration of the basic economic system and structure. Before turning to the specific influences it is convenient to survey the general effects

2 E. E. Rich, *The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple* (Cambridge (Eng.), 1937), 68, n. 1.

3 Cf. McCall, "The Huguenots in Kent," HSL*Proc.*, XIII (1923-29), 25: "It is, I think, accurate to say that the Huguenot of Kent, as elsewhere, strove to establish in the land of his adoption his religion, his trade, his schools, his charities, and his hostels."

they are said to have had on the whole economic development of Europe in the sixteenth century. Among the most comprehensive judgments are those of Van Schelven, Geering, and Witzel, all of whom have attributed wide significance to the European movement of exiles.[4] While Van Schelven has given equal importance to the refugee activity in England and Germany, and Geering to that in Germany and Switzerland, Witzel insists that the influence is less for Germany than for the other regions. It is not likely that Witzel's generalization here is any more accurate than the others, because of the heterogeneous organization of the Empire. His own conclusion on the specific case of Frankfurt attributes no little significance to the Netherlandish group in that city; and other cities, like Hamburg, Wesel, and Cologne, underwent something approaching an industrial transformation. Thus, locally, the consequences were of considerable moment. On Germany as a whole the refugees probably had less effect than on England and Switzerland. Again a strong economic force was frustrated and lost in the governmental morass created by the political ineptitude of the German rulers. The situation that made possible the survival and spread of the Reformation defeated and localized the economic current.

English historians from the sixteenth century on have been generous in crediting the Dutch and Walloon refugees who found a haven in the Isles with substantial contributions to industrial life. Clarendon in his history of the Civil Wars spoke of the great utility, the increase of commerce and manufacturing, which brought to the towns much wealth and abundance.[5] Swinden wrote of the "inexpressible improvement" in the condition of various English cities.[6] Modern historians likewise have had much to say on the influence of the refugees, and they

4 A. A. van Schelven, "Zur Biographie und Theologie des Valerand Poullain," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XLVII (1928), 228: "Die industrielle, meistens Textiltechnik und die arbeitsgemeinschaftliche Organization der Kolonien haben, in England so gut wie in Deutschland, eine nicht weniger tiefe Wirkung ausgeübt [than did the ecclesiastical side]." Geering, *Handel*, 440: "Bedürfnisse, Produkte, Genüsse der romanischen Kulturländer des Mittelalters, Italiens, Frankreichs und der Niederlande, teilte die Massenauswanderung mit der unwiderstehlichen Gewalt der Höheren Civilisation an die langsamer sich entwickelnden germanischen Nachbarn, an Deutschland und die Schweiz mit," Witzel, "Studien," 118, 121, also.

5 Quoted in Schickler, *Les églises*, I, 256.

6 Swinden, *History of Great Yarmouth*, 942.

are not so naively interested in "benefits."[7] No less an authority than Ephraim Lipson writes the following bold judgment in his *Economic History of England*: "The most important event in the industrial history of the sixteenth century was the coming of the Dutch and Walloon immigrants, who established a new brand of the woollen industry, the manufacturing of the finer fabrics known as the 'new drapery'."[8] With equal vigor George Unwin expresses the opinion that "there can be no doubt that the alien immigrant of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries supplied the main factor in an industrial renaissance which had as much importance for the economic development of England as the literary and artistic renaissance had for its intellectual development."[9] The broad and intensive study made above of the activity and life of the refugees would corroborate these conclusions.

In Germany the general influence varied from place to place. A vigorous economic advance took place at Emden after the middle of the century, and at Wesel all the crafts felt the presence of the exiles.[10] The Saxon Voigtland owed much of its industry to the foreigners and their zeal for work,[11] and their importance for Hamburg is clear[12] Although many of the German industries were influenced to some extent, none were more profoundly affected than the textile trades. Both directly, through the presence of the refugees and their cloth-making business, and indirectly, through the effects on native industry itself, a revolution in the German textile trade occurred that worked almost as great a transformation there as in Eng-

7 E.g., Michotte, *Un reformateur. Pierre Alexandre* ([Genève ?], 1913, Thèse), 53: "Ces humbles artisans, traqués par les horreurs de l'inquisition, opérèrent ainsi chez les Anglais une véritable révolution commerciale." Cf. also Scheichl, "Glaubensflüchtlinge," 14.

8 Lipson, *The Economic History*, I, 494; also *History of the English Woollen and Worsted Industries*, 21, where he says the same thing.

9 Unwin, *Guilds and Companies of London*, 246.

10 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 43 f.; "Alle Gewerbe, mögen sie nun die der Goldschmiede, Kupferschmiede, Grobschmiede, Hutmacher, Schumacher u. a. m. sein, sie sind alle von ihnen beeinflusst worden, das eine mehr, das andere weniger."

11 Louis Bein, *Die Industrie des sächsischen Voigtlandes* (Leipzig, 1884, 2 vols. in 1), II, 3.

12 Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 12 f., where the opinions of various students of the city's history are summarized.

land.[13] In many places the wool trade was the beneficiary, developing with "almost unbelievable rapidity."[14] In Brandenburg, Saxony, Strasbourg, on the Lower Rhine, and so forth, wool products became very important.[15] In the industry of silk-weaving the influence exercised by the refugees was greater still. At Hamburg not only velvet and caffa and mockado, but also lace, were either introduced by or greatly expanded and advanced through their efforts;[16] and in many other cities, like Cologne, Wesel, Aachen, Emden, Frankfurt, the silk industry flourished.[17] Finally, linen cloth was affected, although to no great extent, especially in Emden and East Friesland.[18] The importance of the emigration of the Dutch and Walloons for the rise of the new cloth industry, not only in Germany, but even more so in England and Switzerland, has already received ample attention in previous chapters. In the city of London a veritable revolution took place in the weaving trades, wool and linen being replaced by silk.[19] And the significance of the velvet craft of the Locarnese exiles for the cities of Zürich and Basel can scarcely be exaggerated.[20] Indeed—to return to the general judgment on the activity of the strangers—Switzerland was affected most profoundly, by both the Italians and

13 W. Troeltsch, *Die Calwer Zeughandlungskompagnie und ihre Arbeiter. Studien zur Gewerbe- und Sozialgesch. Altwürttembergs* (Jena, 1897), 3: The immigration "führte teils unmittelbar durch einzelne Flüchtlinge, teils mittelbar durch die nähere Kenntnis, die die deutsche Tuchmacherei von den ausländischen Stoffen erhielt, zur Bildung eigener Zeugmacherzünfte oder doch zu einer viel grösseren Produktion von Zeugen neben den Tuchen."

14 Hildebrand, "Zur Gesch. d. deut. Wollenindustrie," 229.

15 Brandenburg was least affected. For Saxony see Hildebrand, 229; for Strasbourg see Witzel, 172, n. 190. Cf. also Schmoller, *Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft*, 511, 543.

16 Therkorn, "Untersuchungen, 77: "Nach den vorhandenen Urkunden können wir demnach feststellen, dass die Posamentmacherei in sehr kleinen Verhältnissen schon vor der Einwanderung der Niederländer bestand, aber erst durch ihre Niederlassung in Hamburg Bedeutung gewann, dass die Fabrikation von Sammet, Triep und Caffa in Hamburg den Niederländern ihre Entstehung verdankt, während die Seidenzwirnerei und Seidentuchweberei in ihrer Entstehung zeitlich nicht genau bestimmt werden können. Da diese beiden Gewerbe aber gleichzeitig mit anderen von Niederländern begründeten oder doch stark beeinflussten Gewerben erst offen in die Erscheinung traten, so können wir annehmen, dass auch sie mindestens sehr viel den eingewanderten Niederländern verdankten."

17 Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 36 f.

18 Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel*, Abh. III, 216; Witzel, 124.

19 Consitt, *The London Weavers' Company*, I, 127 f.; Lipson, *Economic History of England*, I, 499. This had been completed by 1577, as can be seen from the Ordinances of the London Weavers' Company.

20 Ernst Gagliardi, *Geschichte der Schweiz von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Zürich, Leipzig, 1934-38, 3 vols.), II, 635 f.; Nabholz, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, I, 464.

the French who came there to live. *"Die Refugiantenbewegung ist eine für die Schweiz hochbedeutsame kulturgeschichtliche Erscheinung."*[21] Geering says there were two great factors in Swiss economic history: first, the immigration of French and Italian refugees in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and second, the conduct of Switzerland toward the politics of its neighbors, especially in connection with the wars.[22] Locally also the strangers made an impression: as, for example, in Geneva, where, although the very beginnings of industrial life cannot be attributed to them, still they contributed *"une puissante impulsion."*[23] The same could be said of Zürich.[24]

Having given consideration to the general influence of the refugee movement, attention must now be turned to the specific ways in which the economic life of England and the Continental countries was affected. Most obvious are the commercial and industrial changes brought about by the migration of both business and talent. The coastal ports, of course, would react most strongly to the commercial elements among the exiles from the Low Countries. Hamburg, Stade, Wesel, and Baden, either on the sea or near to it, found that rich accounts in trade, formerly enjoyed by the Netherlands, were now transferred to them. Refugee merchants, driven from Antwerp and other thriving centers of trade with Spain and other countries, had no difficulty in carrying on the same business in their new offices. Wesel at that time engaged in extensive trade with the country to the east, either by means of the River Lippe or overland, to Soest, Essen, Dortmund, Münster, Osnabrück, and so on.[25] It is thus easy to perceive how important were commercial interests in this Rhenish city, considering the two-way business north-and-south on the Rhine and east-and-west on the Lippe and by land. With the coming of the refugees a great upswing began in trade with the Low Countries, and Wesel bade fair to become the chief city of the Rhine.[26] It might

21 Nabholz, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, I, 462.
22 Geering, *Grundzüge einer schweizerische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 4.
23 Mörikofer, *Histoire des réfugiés*, 66.
24 Maliniak, *Die Entstehung der Exportindustrie*, 61: "Mit der Immigration der Locarner beginnt die Epoche der wirtschaftlichen Blüte Zürichs."
25 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 61.
26 H. Münker, *Die Weseler Schiffahrt vornehmlich zur Zeit des spanisch-niederländischen Krieges* (Wesel, 1908), 19.

have achieved this destiny had it not been for the destructive interference of the struggles over the Jülich-Cleve succession and the Thirty Years' War. Stade and Hamburg may be said to have inherited much of the trade of Antwerp with Spain, so close were the connections established by Netherlandish merchants who took refuge in those cities.[27] East Friesland was filled with new commercial enterprises and learned some of the new business practices followed by the larger establishments, such as simplification of methods of calculation and expansion of credit facilities.[28] Emden benefited most from these new currents, and the larger firms especially, since everything pointed toward the centralization of control in the hands of a few.

As in commerce, so in industry, new forms and new products made their appearance through the influence of the foreign artisans. Although the fact has not been widely emphasized in economic history, the sixteenth century in England was one of immense progress, both in the reinvigoration and expansion of old and in the introduction and founding of new industries.[29] The acceleration of production was as striking as that of the eighteenth century, and indeed may be considered as the first phase of the long evolutionary process that as a whole is England's real Industrial Revolution. It has already become apparent that the refugees played no little part in these developments. To them principally is due the application to English industry of the technical means used on the Continent and the introducton of altogether new industries as well. The great contrast between the sixteenth century upswing and the industrial developments of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the *direction* of the flow: the earlier period saw a current running

27 An interesting sidelight is thrown on this trade by a marriage registration recorded in Stade, August 14, 1593. It shows the anomalous position of the Protestant Dutch merchants who carried on trade with Catholic Spain at the same time as they were being persecuted and driven from their homes by the Spanish overlords in the Low Countries. Sillem, "Stade," DHV*Gbl.*, II6, 24 f. In this case the Dutch merchants made a contract with Philip II for the provision of the Spanish troops in Africa!

28 Hagedorn, *Ostfrieslands Handel*, Abh. III, 126.

29 Cf. Nef, "The Progress of Technology and the Growth of Large-Scale Industry in Great Britain, 1540-1640," *Economic History Review*, V (1935), who gives a broad survey of industrial progress in England in the time of the Tudors. New were manufacture of paper, cannon, alum, copperas; sugar-refining and production of salt-peter and brass. Coal output was increased eight-fold between 1540 and 1640, and the production of steel began in the reign of Elizabeth.

strong from the Continent, especially the Low Countries, to England; while the opposite was the case later on. Glass-engraving in London; pottery, silk-weaving; thread-making at Maidstone; the new draperies at Norwich, Colchester, and Sandwich; linen-weaving, printing; needle-making and parchment manufacture at Colchester; and lacemaking—all of these came with the strangers to England. The introduction of the coach as a means of conveyance has been attributed to them; and the fashion of starching fine cambric ruffs is said to have been made popular by them.[30] In Germany much the same story can be told. For Frankfurt alone six items have been listed as beginning with the arrival of Walloon refugees: (1) the silk industry, especially ribbons, cords, and yarn; (2) commerce in Belgian silk, especially part-silk, stuffs; (3) dyeing of wool and silk cloth; (4) the jewel and precious metals industry; (5) trade in spices; and (6) banking and bourse activity.[31] Cloth-weaving at Hamburg, Cologne, Wesel, Duisburg, and so forth, developed new products[32] Refugees brought to Aachen in 1544 the craft of wool-weaving, and later the manufacture of cotton cloth.[33] The same was true of Switzerland, a story of innovation and refurbishment. Although the famous clock and watch industry of the Cantons was not due solely to the refugees, and was really a native craft in its own right, yet to no small extent did they contribute to its excellence.[34] As for the Netherlands, the various factors are too confused and complicated to make possible any clear judgment on the influence of the refugees in bringing in new industries. One would not be surprised,

30 So in Burns, *Protestant Refugees*, 185 ff., especially note on 188. On starching: "It was in the year 1564 that Mrs. Dinghen van den Plasse, who was born at Teenen in Flanders, and was the daughter of a knight of that Province, came to London with her husband for safety; and she was the first who taught starching in those days of impurity. Our historians go farther, and condescend to inform us that her price was about £5. to teach how to starch, and £20. how to seeth starch; and that in a little time she got an estate, being greatly encouraged by gentlemen and ladies."

31 Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelgeschichte*, II, 19. The connection of the refugees with the financial development of Frankfurt is not clear; but the two came to the city about the same time.

32 See especially Witzel, "Studien," 131, 423; Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 39; Averdunk, *Gesch. der Stadt Duisburg*, 548. At Duisburg one Johann Salinger was freed from *Bürgergeld* "weil er der erste gewesen sei, hier Seidenpersement zu machen und Seidenwerk zu färben, auch geblümet und ungeblümet Trip zu weben."

33 Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbes*, 31.

34 Geering, *Grundzüge*, 10.

however, in view of the experience of England, Germany, and Switzerland, to learn of definite connections between the two.[35]

Closely connected with the introduction of new trades and the expansion of old ones is the employment of native workers in enterprises established by exiles. Evidence on this point has already been adduced in previous chapters.[36] More than once the strangers brought forward this argument in support of petitions for better treatment or exemption from further duties.

Mention has been made from time to time of the importance of technical innovations and improvements for the development of economic life. Without doubt the Walloons and Dutch who settled in England and Germany and Switzerland contributed much along this line. As Witzel says of the situation in Frankfurt, "On the technique of the Frankfurt wool-weavers their common life with the foreign clothmakers apparently was not without influence."[37] In many cases little more can be said, since information is lacking; but sometimes details of great interest appear. At Canterbury, for example, in 1583, there were found to be among the refugees "greate loomes."[38] At London a declaration of grievances by native weavers included complaints against the use of an

> Engine or Loome brought first from beyond the seas. . . , Some with tenn, some sixtene, some twentie and some twentie and foure Shuttels a piece By which ffourtie and foure Loomes thus set on worke we finde they take away the liveinge of ffoure hundred foure score and six persons according to the computacon of their Shutteller.[39]

On the Continent numerous machines of a labor-saving nature were used by the exiles, sometimes in opposition to the desires of the natives. At Cologne the Venetian, Ambrosius Spirituellus, who came from Antwerp, had spinning wheels and mills for the manufacture of spun silk and tapestry; and in 1562 the use of a twisting-mill was permitted.[40] When it appeared that one mill put out of work ten men, then anger was aroused against the use of the new-fangled devices. This is one of the

35 Cf. here the testimony in Pirenne.

36 As, for example, in England at Norwich.

37 Witzel, "Studien," 155.

38 Cross, *History of . . . Canterbury*, 187: An item in the records of the tax on looms: "Moore for their greate loomes. . . .xs."

39 *Ibid.*, 187 (quoted from Records of the Weavers' Co.).

40 Witzel, "Studien," 426.

reasons why Cologne failed to persevere in its friendliness to the strangers. Although not all of the new methods were brought in by refugees, still the advanced procedure derived from the ambitious new cloth industry in the Low Countries, especially in the region of southern Flanders, was generally ahead of any local situation with which they came into contact.[41]

Of all the new technical methods, however, the most important and wide-spread were the improved processes in dyeing cloth. Two elements here must be noted: (1) the discovery of new dyes from the East and West Indies, and (2) the new technique of the foreign Protestants.[42] Netherlandish refugees who came to Strasbourg from Antwerp sought for and obtained permission to use new methods—but only after long delays occasioned by the opposition from the native dyers.[43] The Italians from Locarno brought improved dyeing processes not only to Zürich and Basel, but also to Nürnberg[44] and Cologne.[45] At the latter city the chief innovation was the process of *Seidenschweren,* the weighting of silk, which is directly attributable to the activity of the refugees[46]

Besides contributions to the cloth industry the exiles were active in all manner of engineering problems, such as the repair of the harbor of Dover[47] and the construction of an ingenious waterworks in London.[48] Acontius[49] received more recognition in England as an engineer than as an ecclesiastical theologian. In 1560 he was employed in the construction of

41 See above, *passim.*

42 Hildebrand, "Zur Geschichte der . . . Wollenindustrie," 208 f.

43 Schmoller, *Die Strassburger Tucher- und Weberzunft,* 511-13.

44 Falke, *Gesch. des deutschen Handels,* II, 24.

45 Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbe,* 13 f.

46 Cf. Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung,* 4; Witzel, "Studien," 419-451, especially 427, 429-30, 442. There is much material here on the technical problems involved. See also Koch, *Geschichte des Seidengewerbe,* 13 f.

47 *Acts of the Privy Council,* XIII (1581-82), 139 f., dated July 26, 1581: a letter to the Commissioners for Dover Harbor about a conference with "the Fleminges touching the repairinge of Dover Haven," together with some detailed plans.

48 Burn, *Protestant Refugees,* 261, quoting from Stow: "This year Peter Moris, a Dutchman, but a free Denizen, having made an engine for that purpose, conveyed Thames water in pipes of lead over the steeple of St. Magnus Church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diverse men's houses in Thames Street, up into . . . the highest ground of the Citie of London . . ."

49 Born 1492, refugee in Basel, Zürich, Strasbourg, and in London (1559).

fortifications by the Queen, and in 1565 he obtained permission to drain off a tract of land near the Thames, with the understanding that he was to have possession of the land thus drained.[50]

There remains to be discussed a third and most important influence of the refugees: effect on the economic system itself. How was the organization of industry altered? To what extent were the fundamental principles on which the existing system rested transformed? Finally, what of the relation of these forces to the rise of the new economic system that later became known as capitalism?

The core of the subject is the fate of the gild organization and spirit during the sixteenth century, when in every country treated here various forces were at work undermining their strength. From the late Middle Ages had come a municipal-centered economy in which the towns strove for self-dependence and in which "a jealous and rigid commercial monopoly isolated every locality from its neighbor. . . ."[51] Especially true in England, the trend prevailed also on the Continent. A "foreigner" was anyone who came from outside a particular town, whether he be a fellow-countryman or an alien:

> The aims of municipal policy were frankly and avowedly selfish, and they were inspired by an energetic determination to assert the supremacy of the townsmen over all who stood outside their own privileged circle. It was immaterial whether the stranger within their gates was an Englishman from a neighbouring town or an alien from beyond the sea. He was in either case subjected to disabilities, embodying principles which have long disappeared from modern life.[52]

Even in the second half of the sixteenth century an example of this municipal selfishness is found in the relations between London and Norwich.[53] Now the great strength of this town economy lay in the rigid organization of the gild system. To a great extent the power of either town or gild stood or fell with the other. Through a number of causes a decay of the

50 *Enciclopedio Italiana di Scienze, lettere ed arti,* I, 336-37, in an article by George La Piana: "pero il 27 febbraio 1560 la regina lo prendeva ai servizi dello stato quale in gegnere di fortificazioni, e gli assegnava una pensione annua di sessanta sterline." Then, in 1565, he got permission to drain the land.

51 Lipson, *Economic History of England,* I, 265.

52 *Ibid.,* I, 305.

53 Jealousy led to boycotts. Moens, *Norwich,* 41.

ancient boroughs set in during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,[54] and at the same time the rigid control of the gilds began to lose its grip on industry and production.[55] In these developments the religious refugees played a large part. They were instrumental in bringing to England a nationalization of economy that spelled the end of the outmoded town economy supported by the conservative elements. Around London the refugees set up shop five or six miles outside the city limits, thus avoiding the gild restrictions. A great migration of industry took place from urban to rural areas, and products made in the provinces found a market in London. The way was prepared for the large-scale enterprises that led directly to the capitalistic organization of economic society. Although no one, of course, would maintain that the exiles were solely responsible for these tremendous events, still the way was facilitated by their presence as an effective force in the disintegration of the traditional and static forms.

Especially significant in this respect was their relation to the gild organization, operative equally in Germany and Switzerland and England. Although Germany did not experience a process of nationalization, there did occur a decline in the power of the gilds.[56] At Wesel the situation was rather complicated, since the refugees acted both as gild supporters and gild destroyers. During the Middle Ages this city, because of its primarily commercial character, did not have strong gilds.[57] During the fifteenth century only the woolworkers, shoemakers, and *Schroeder* (tailors?) had a gild. It so happened that the arrival of refugees coincided with the organization of several gilds, after the forties of the sixteenth century. Not only were the refugees not averse to gild organization, but also the government of the city, finally throwing off the domination of the wealthy patricians who were interested only in commerce, became friendly to the industrial elements that were concerned

54 Lipson, *Economic History*, I, 306 f., lists eight: (1) rigid protection through the gild merchant, sapping their strength; (2) trend of the cloth trade from old towns to the new centers, especially in the wool industry; (3) burden of taxation; (4) oppressive character of craft ordinances; (5) changes in the location of the Staple; (6) changes in the trade routes; (7) epidemics and fires; (8) the Hundred Years' War.

55 Space cannot be given to the decay of the gilds here.

56 Although not so profoundly as in England.

57 Cf. Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 48 ff. In 1308 the Duke of Cleve forbade any organization into gilds.

about establishing gilds for the regulation of activity in the different trades. Thus, the refugees in this case did help bring gild organization to Wesel. On the other hand, however, the trades in which they were the most active, the manufacture of cloth, tended to follow more liberal lines than some others. The lacemaking art remained free and unregulated throughout the country. The mockado (*Trippen*) and bombazine weavers, although not so free as the lacemakers, still had more liberal ordinances than those of the fifteenth century. The wool ordinances of 1456 had been very strict; those of 1546 and 1553 were quite liberal.[58] It would seem that something like the following occurred in Wesel: the refugees, accustomed to a mild gild system, arrived at a time when the old commercial aristocracy of the city, opponents of any system that would strengthen industrial elements as opposed to commencial interests, was overthrown and a more democratic government introduced, which favored gilds as a weapon of defense for industry, and thus went beyond the liberal gild spirit of the refugees to establish rigid institutions for strict regulation. Against this latter tendency the strangers reacted and became a force for liberal economic organization.

At Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Aachen, among other places, the position of the exiles was clearer. They definitely opposed regulation by the gilds, and in many cases either legally or not carried on their trades outside of them. Their new trades, if organized into gilds at all, were marked by a liberal spirit entirely at odds with traditional attitudes.[59] Regulations were fewer and less severe, sometimes notable for important omissions. Freedom was given for practically unlimited growth and

58 *Ibid.*, 50, 52.

59 So, for example, the Worsted Weavers' Ordinance at Frankfurt in 1559 (Witzel, "Studien," 159-166). In brevity and in omissions it went beyond the average ordinances of the day. The same is true in the case of Hamburg: while the lacemaking trade displayed a sturdy gild spirit, being composed of a controlling body of native workers who were already active in the trade when the aliens arrived, the *Trippen* trade, being founded and controlled by the refugees, remained free. Cf. Therkorn, *op. cit.*, 79-82, 85-87. Thus a clear correlation existed between the presence of exiles and an anti-gild attitude. For Cologne see Koch, *Gesch. des Seidengewerbes in Köln*, 70 ff., where the influence of the refugee textile-workers was in a definitely modern direction. Italian exiles there centralized production, bringing together several processes that before had been separate trades in themselves. In the city of Aachen the cloth industry had a gild organization until the Netherlanders came, and then became wholly open. Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 4; Frei, *Die Bedeutung*, 11.

innovation. In numerous instances strangers ignored the gilds and worked independently for themselves, in spite of the bitter complaints of the natives. In Switzerland the influence of the refugees in the breakdown of the gilds was combined with wider contributions to the whole economic history of the country. Not so spectacular was the struggle between conservative natives and liberal foreigners. At Zürich, as already mentioned, an interesting development arose in the form of *Zunftkapitalismus,*[60] a combination of gild forms with capitalistic spirit, which in spite of its form resulted in the ultimate destruction of the power of the Swiss gilds. Over and beyond these effects the significance of the refugee movement for the economic history of Switzerland reaches into almost every aspect of its industrial development. As Nabholz has summarized,

> Zusammenfassend konnen wir sagen, dass am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts die Schweiz noch ein Glied der oberdeutschen Wirtschaft war, dass ihr mit dieser die Gefahr drohte, in den festen zunfthandwerklichen Formen zu erstarren. Seit der Mitte des Jahrhunderts setzte aber eine vollig neue Entwicklung ein, welche die Schweiz zu einem selbständigen Wirtschaftsgebiet machte. Es handelt sich um die durch die Refugiantenbewegung hervorgerufenen auf kapitalistischer Grundlage aufgebauten Exportindustrien.[61]

This influence of the refugees on the gild system leads directly to the study of the relations between them and the unsolved problem of Protestantism and the rise of capitalism.

2. Refugees, Protestantism, and Capitalism

The much-disputed question of the relation of ascetic Protestantism to the rise of capitalism is one of the most fascinating problems in the social history of Christianity. Ever since Max Weber sent out a trial balloon in the form of an essay entitled *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus,* historians have been wrangling over it, but never solving it.[62]

60 See above, 137 f.

61 Nabholz, *Geschichte der Schweiz,* I, 317 f.

62 Weber's essay, which has been translated as *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* by Talcott Parsons (New York, 1930), is part of his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1924). The literature dealing with the question is tremendous, and only some of the most important can be mentioned here. Two excellent bibliographical articles are P. J. Bouman, "Eenige Beschouwingen over de historische Betrekkingen tusschen Godsdienst en Kapitalisme," *De Economist,* LXXXI (1932), 181-198; and Talcott Parsons, "Capitalism in Recent German Literature," *Journal of Political Economy,* XXXVI (1928), 641-661, and XXXVII (1929),

Much effort has been wasted, owing to the gulf that has been fixed between religious and economic history, making impossible any effective co-operation and interchange of ideas on this problem, which above all demands a twofold approach from both angles. Ecclesiastical historians have devoted themselves to the theological issues involved, failing or refusing to recognize the pertinence of the facts of economic history, which the historians of that subject have investigated without reference to the religious aspects, which are essential to an understanding not only of religion's relation to economics but also of the economic facts themselves. For the justification of any

31-51. A study of Max Weber and his thesis that is rather better than the usual rehash of his essay is M. Halbwachs, "Economistes et historiens: Max Weber, une vie, un oeuvre," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, I (1929), 81-88. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York, 1937) provides the best and most recent presentation of the theoretical and sociological aspects of Weber's approach to the problem. Some of the most significant books, both supporting and criticizing the Weber-Troeltsch thesis are: Lujo Brentano, *Der wirtschaftende Mensch in der Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1923), a collection; J. Broderick, *The Economic Morals of the Jesuits* (London, 1934), included as a criticism of Robertson, author a member of the Society of Jesuits; Robert Lowry Calhoun, *God and the Common Life* (New York, 1935), an excellent "critical analysis" of the Protestant doctrine of the calling; Amintore Fanfani, *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism* (New York, 1935, trans. from Italian), clarifies some controversial issues, generally reliable, although largely based on secondary materials; Henri Hauser, *Les debuts du capitalisme* (Paris, 1927), a fine piece of work, with special emphasis on usury; Albert Hyma, *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism* (Ann Arbor, 1937), good historical approach, but bad historical goal, ends with sit-down strikes; Johann B. Kraus, *Scholastik, Puritanismus und Kapitalismus* (Munich & Leipzig, 1930), a rewarding book, good bibliography, largely English works, author a Jesuit; Hector M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Modern Individualism; a Criticism of Max Weber and His School* (Cambridge, 1933), has the advantages of a sound historical approach, but lacks perspective and moderation; Werner Sombart, *The Jews and Modern Capitalism* (London, 1913, trans. from German), where Sombart advances his theory on the Jews and capitalism; Werner Sombart, *Der moderne Kapitalismus* (München, Vols. I & II, 1916-17, III, 1916-27; 1st ed. 1902), his masterwork; J. Strieder, *Zur Genesis des modernen Kapitalismus. Forschungen zur Entstehung der grossen Kapitalvermögen am Ausgange des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit zunächst in Augsburg* (Leipzig, 1904), a careful study on the rise of capitalism; R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1926), the most reliable study for the problem in its English aspects; Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress* (London, N. Y., 1912), the fullest statement of his position on the question; Georg Wünsch, *Evangelische Wirtschaftsethik* (Tübingen, 1927), professor of systematic theology at Marburg, Wünsch has the requisite theological understanding and a reasonable economic insight; Ernst Beins, "Die Wirtschaftsethik der calvinistischen Kirche der Niederlande 1565-1650," *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S. XXIV (1931), 81-156; M. Halbwachs, "Les origines Puritains du capitalisme moderne," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuse*, V (1925), 132-154; Talcott Parsons, "H. M. Robertson on Max Weber and His School," *Journal of Political Economy*, XLIII (1935), 688-696; Henri Sée, "Dans quelle mesure Puritains et Juifs ont-ils contributé au progrès du capitalisme modern?," *Revue historique*, CLV (1927), 57-68.

final conclusion every discussion must begin with recognition of the relevancy of theological issues and cannot end without attention to economic facts. In order that the significance of the refugee movement may be brought out, a brief outline of the problem of ascetic Protestantism and the rise of capitalism follows.

The question as formulated by Max Weber took the form: why were districts of greatest economic development also most receptive of a revolution in the church?[63] Catholics did not resort to economic activity under pressure of state disfavor as did the Protestants and the Jews. This fact cannot be due to "the greater other-worldiness of the Catholic Church" because, in France, the Calvinists are shown to have been the other-worldly folk, while the Catholics had the reputation of "living to eat." In Germany, on the other hand, the opposite was true. The amazing and significant fact, Weber goes on to say, is that in both countries the Protestants were responsible for the great industrial development under the new system.[64]

One of the principal points of connection between Protestantism and capitalism Weber found in the doctrine of the "calling," made famous by Luther as *"Beruf"* in his translation of the Bible. But here, first of all, three aspects of the whole problem must be recognized: first, the official attitude of the organization of the Church—are its pronouncements and those of its leaders in favor of or opposed to the capitalist spirit?—; second, the actual effect historically, if any, of the body politic of the Church and its members upon the economic life of the period—how does the Church as an organization enter into the economic life of a given period?—; and third, the actual effect of the doctrines and beliefs, the true religious spirit, the psychological sanctions, of members of a particular religious body upon the individual member of the Church—in what way does the religious spirit of a man's faith affect his activity and attitude in business? To these must be added, of course, the converse form: the effect of economic processes upon the religious situation. Taking illustrations from the medieval Catholic Church, the first aspect takes the form of pronouncements by the Popes and Councils and teachings by recognized authorities (like St.

63 Weber, *The Protestant Ethic*, 36.
64 *Ibid.*, 40.

Thomas and St. Antoninus) on sundry questions of morality in social life; the second, having nothing to do with doctrine, appears in the importance of the Catholic Church for the financial history of the later Middle Ages and the rise of the Italian banking houses; and third refers to the ideal of primitive perfection in following Christ, which in spite of reiterated official pronouncements and teachings on the moral justification of the use and ownership of property, continually appeared in ascetic monastic movements culminating in the Franciscan ideal. Many writers, oblivious of the necessity of making these essential distinctions, have wasted much ink in disproving Weber's thesis on the ground that teachings and official attitudes of the church organization under consideration were in opposition to the spirit of capitalism.[65] On the other hand there is danger that the actual historical effect of a certain group in its economic activity will be taken as proof of the influence of doctrines and religious faith in economic life. All this is not to say that teachings and pronouncements are without significance or effect, but only that they are just one of two aspects of the effect of doctrines and beliefs on life. The distinction becomes most important if it is discovered that teachings of ascetic Protestantism tended to be anti-capitalistic, while the actual effect psychologically of the doctrines themselves upon individuals tended to encourage freedom of industrial activity and capitalistic attitudes. Weber did not make this threefold distinction in his essay, but he recognized the distinction between the teachings of a religious body and the effects of its beliefs.

In any discussion of this theory a beginning must be made with an inquiry into the theological factors involved in the problem.[66] These ideas are especially important in the case of Calvin because upon the division of Protestantism into general and ascetic types Weber and Troeltsch have based their interpretation. In many respects there is as much difference between Calvin and Luther as between the latter and Catholicism. This

65 As, for example, Robertson, *Rise of Modern Individualism*, and Hyma, *Christianity, Capitalism and Communism*, who would disprove Weber by analyzing *attitudes* and *teachings* on the calling, usury, etc., without distinguishing these from the psychological and moral effect of the theological doctrines. These scholars have, however, made recognized contributions.

66 This abbreviated summary is not intended to be an introduction to the broad problem of the Weber thesis, but rather only an introduction to the relation of the refugees to it.

difference is at once perceived when attention is given to Calvin's ideas of God and the world, which attributed to the Sovereign of the Universe such majesty, omnipotence, and holiness that worldly affairs paled into insignificance.[67] The *one* all-important fact in existence is the Sovereignty of God. Building from this central pillar of faith, Calvin developed other distinctive doctrines that play an important part in the adaptation of Calvinism to society, among which are predestination, the glorification of God as the sole end of all life, the necessity of working for the establishment of the Kingdom, and the helpless enslavement of the world and men in sin. The result of these ideas was an ascetic activism which Weber labelled *innerweltliche Askese,* "inner-worldly asceticism" being the simplest English equivalent. With respect to predestination, which logically rendered good works of no value or significance, the all-important question of whether one was among the elect or doomed led finally to the breakdown of the pure doctrine, with the result that good works re-entered through the window as tokens of grace. In all these relations with the divine order the principle of individualism held sway.[68]

Two effects of predestination were, according to Weber, a fundamental antagonism to all sensuous culture, and a disillusioned and individualistic pessimism.[69] These effects furnished the impetus to activity in the world *ad majorem gloriam Dei.* In the doctrine of predestination, as in many other central teachings, Calvin was the disciple of Luther. But close as primitive Calvinism was to Lutheran theology, just as far from it were the implications and distinctive features that ultimately made Calvinism the very opposite of Lutheranism.[70] While for Luther predestination represented the miracle of God for the salvation of men, for Calvin it meant also the expression of God as supreme Sovereign and Lord. Justification was not for Cal-

67 Wünsch, *Evangelische Wirtschaftsethik,* 327.

68 The importance of the doctrine of predestination for the Calvinist outlook on life has been much disputed. By some it has been taken as the center of the Calvinist relation to economic activity; by others its significance in the Calvinist system has been depreciated. Nevertheless, although the doctrine may have been exaggerated out of all proportion to the other elements, still it stands as a potent force in the determination of the kind of life a good Calvinist ought to lead.

69 Weber, *The Protestant Ethic,* 105 ff.

70 Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York, 1931, 2 vols.), II, 577, 581 f.

vin, as it was for Luther, the forgiving mercy of God permitting some men to enjoy beatitude; rather it was the freeing of the soul from the guilt of sin, in order that it might serve and glorify him. The evidence of election and justification is not inward certainty and depth of feeling, but rather energy and action.

Another characteristic of Calvinism was its distinctive individualism. Different from Luther's interest in the individual assurance of salvation, different from the individual self-interest of a later period and from the individualism of the Enlightenment, Calvin stressed the glorification of God in action as the real field for the expression of individualism. Everything pointed away from quietistic acquiescense and toward activistic labor engaged in by a Christian man sure of his election and intent only on service in the world for the Great God, in whom alone lay all goodness, all value, all meaning, all goals.

The results of these differences and these distinctive characteristics in the economic field are at once apparent. Calvin struck off from Luther in believing that the anti-Mammonistic Christian spirit could exist in a money economy.[71] No contrast in social views could be more plain: Luther rejected the new commercial activity in much the same manner as he rejected the Peasants' Revolt. He looked to the past. Calvin, on the other hand, accepted this commercial system as a *fait accompli,* and proceeded from that starting point. The kernel of the difference lies in this: the social ethic of both medieval Catholicism and Lutheranism was based on the preservation and maintenance of a static society, involving both the ideal of the ecclesiastical unity of civilization and the reality of feudal institutions and medieval economy, to which had been attached the moral ideas of the just price, the unproductivity of money, and moderation in striving for profit. The difference from the "capitalist spirit" Halbwachs has expressed succinctly in his epigram: *"L'un travaille pour gagner sa vie, l'autre travaille pour gagner."*[72] Calvinism rejected the idea of a static society, envisaged a process of continuous change and development, and recognized the necessity for advance and alteration in economic systems and organizations.[73] Therefore, no inherent antipathy

71 *Ibid.*, II, 642.
72 Halbwachs, "Les origines Puritains," *loc. cit.*, 133.
73 Gustav Aubin, *Der Einfluss der Reformation in der Geschichte der deutschen Wirtschaft* (Halle, 1929,, Hallische Universitätsreden, 44), 13.

against capitalistic innovations was contained in the Calvinist social ethic. In many respects, of course, the two founders approached one another in their social outlook.[74] Taking the controversial question of usury by way of illustration, Luther rejected the principle of interest and Calvin accepted it. They would seem to be miles apart. But both of them opposed also a fast and rigid law on the subject. Geneva, where Calvin had made a provisional tolerance of the principle of interest, set a five per cent limit, while Luther permitted interest of six per cent.[75] In actual policy they tended to come together; but in the theological and ethical foundation and background of their approach by social questions, and in the religious spirit engendered by these principles, they differed radically. The fundamental dissimilarity between Lutheranism and Calvinism became more and more apparent as the two theologies congealed into churches and as the soporific and the wine began to work upon individuals to whom salvation by faith alone and the assurance of election were realities of essential and terrifying importance.

In the race between religious reform and economic advance Luther fell hopelessly behind; Calvin breasted the current. The necessity of capital and credit he recognized from the beginning, and a rather less enthusiastic toleration of banking and finance followed. Giving a qualified approval to interest-taking, he treated it with caution—or, as a seventeenth century commentator has it, "Calvin deals with usurie as the apothecarie doth with poyson."[76] One of the most important considerations has to do with the nature of Calvinist "asceticism," in connection with which Weber employed his famous phrase *innerweltliche Askese,* an asceticism lived out within the currents of worldly life as contrasted to an asceticism that was directed toward escape from that life. One element of this asceticism is labor, work in one's calling for the glory of God.[77] In later Calvinism profit became a sign of God's blessing on the faithful performance of one's calling. Neither labor itself, nor profit, however,

74 Wünsch, *Wirtschaftsethik,* 335, says "dass sie von verschiedenen prinzipiellen Anschauungen herkommend, praktisch am selben Ziel sich begegnen, weil sie im Grunde doch der gleiche Geist beseelt."

75 So *ibid,* 335.

76 Quoted in Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* 106.

77 Troeltsch, *Social Teachings,* II, 648.

is intended for a personal interest such as salvation; rather all is in stewardship from God. "When all is said and done," concludes Troeltsch, "Calvinism remains the real nursing-father of the civic, industrial capitalism of the middle classes."[78] This contribution, he hastens to add, was indirect and hence involuntary on the part of Calvin.[79]

Still there is something new. Economic phenomena are studied in themselves; the analysis of interest is sociological rather than ethical; and, after all, Calvin had accepted the principle of interest in itself. Only in later Calvinism, however, did the full import of these currents appear. Tawney's excellent study of the situation in England, although strongly criticizing the comprehensive conclusion of Weber, would bear out many of his arguments, and grant to Puritanism at least the power of a "tonic" on the development of the capitalist principles.[80] Later Calvinism became more friendly to capitalism; but not until a century after Calvin's death could it feel at home with the capitalist system. All through the period, however, the *spirit* of Calvinism gave an indirect—and involuntary—impetus to the development of an economic system with which it superficially found little in common.[81]

78 *Idem, Protestantism and Progress,* 135.

79 Werner Sombart, in accordance with his general thesis, concludes that Calvinism had the opposite effect. Its hostility was equal to that of Lutheranism. "The assumption is not far-fetched that the new faith was on the whole more harmful than helpful to the growth of the capitalist spirit." Sombart, *The Quintessence of Modern Capitalism* (London, 1915, trans. from German), 252. Hyma and Robertson agree with him on this point. Wünsch, with characteristic moderation, sends down the verdict, "Not capitalistic," but distinguishes between Calvin and Luther. Robertson admits that Calvin justified usury, and that he did not take seriously the maxim *pecunia non parit pecuniam;* but then attempts to indicate so many restrictions and exceptions that no real difference from traditional Catholicism is observable. On the other hand, he points out, with accuracy, that later medieval Catholic teachers, like Antoninus, propounded rather advanced economic principles. But he has exaggerated these points. Henri Hauser has come closer to the truth in his admirable study (*Les debuts du capitalisme,* 49-80): he corrects the conception of usury as used by Calvin. He (Calvin) said the Hebrew word that has been translated as *usura* is really more energetic: *morsure* or *rongeure* ("ce qui mord les povres gens et ce que les ronge"), not merely taking interest, but *faenus* "odiosum." Hauser admits that the restrictions on interest do deny the capitalist spirit, but public welfare is still above individual convenience.

80 Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* 226.

81 This is not to say that capitalism, in converse action, had no effect on Calvinism, for as Robertson ably demonstrates, it did. That is another problem, however, that need not enter here, for the fact of reverse influence does not disprove the fact of inherent forces working out from the Calvinist doctrine.

Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la doctrine calvinienne, la demarcation que le réformateur traçait entre le domaine de la loi religieuse et celui de la loi civile, le relativisme sociologique qu'il introduisait dans l'interprétation de l'histoire, le sens profond qu'il avait des réalités et des besoins économiques, tout cela, en dépit de ses timidités de moraliste mener à l'émancipation du crédit . . . Mais par le seul fait qu'il rangeait l'argent parmi les choses fongibles, il renversait la doctrine qu'il croyait conserver. . . . Jean Calvin a déchainé une révolution qu'il n'a ni voulue ni prévue, mais qui sort de sa dialectique.[82]

The determination of the importance of the refugees for the relationship between ascetic Protestantism and the rise of capitalism is extraordinarily difficult. Not only was their influence felt in each of the three directions mentioned above, but also the significance of the groups differed in quality and quantity. When the refugees went into exile, they left behind most of their material belongings—property, wealth, reputation, social position. But they took with them two priceless possessions: a new economic organization and a new religion. For the first they sought freedom and peace; for the second they were ready to give their lives. Each had its influence on economic life. The influence of the former was proclaimed from the housetops, was exercised openly, with obvious results, stood in clear opposition to traditional customs and practices, was complained against by the natives. The influence of the latter, no less significant, did not announce its presence, worked with subtlety so tranquil that even the refugees themselves were not aware of it, resulted in an industriousness that amazed and finally offended Lutheran and Catholic, and sometimes even Reformed, citizens. This was the spirit of ascetic Protestantism expressing itself in labor and service for the glory of God through earthly callings.

Now two questions are presented. Did they, in the first place, approve of capitalism? By what motivation, in the second place, were they brought to this approval? The answer to the former question, although qualifications must be made, is yes. The answer to the latter is more complex, must consist of a threefold explanation. The facts so far adduced on the industrial influence of the refugees would lead one to expect that their attitude to the new forms of capital organization was not

82 Hauser, *Les debuts*, 78 f.

one of repugnance. Technical advance in methods and processes, transformation of the weaving industry from an unprogressive trade that had fallen into a medieval rut into a modern economic structure, undermining of the gild system, partial nationalization of economy—all these changes, fostered by the exiles, fell in with the capitalistic *modus operandi.* More specifically the strangers, accustomed to many innovations and new methods in the Netherlands, where most of them originated, and placed in opposition to traditional forms by their alien and minority status in exile, found capitalistic ideas not only acceptable but congenial. What this meant for the economic revolution in England is clear. Capitalism was brought to Hanau by the Netherlanders who founded and built a colony there.[83] It entered with the Locarnese into the gild life of Basel.[84] In all Switzerland it spread, thanks largely to the coming of the refugees.[85] This is not to say, of course, that the origin of capitalism lay in the dispersion of exiles over the face of Europe—any more than Weber's thesis claimed that the rise of ascetic Protestantism was the cause of capitalism or the capitalist spirit. That capitalism existed long before the period of the Reformation is a commonplace.[86] The important fact is that not until the sixteenth century did industrial capitalism become more than exceptional, although commercial and financial forms had made considerable progress. In the rapid expansion of the sixteenth century the diaspora played no small part.

83 Frei, *Die Bedeutung,* 18.

84 Gecring, *Handel,* 494: "Die Refugianten brachten aber in das zünftige Basler Gewerbeleben den Capitalismus als etwas abgeschlossenes fertiges mit allen Consequenzen, insonderheit mit seinem socialen Unterschieden."

85 Gagliardi, *Gesch. der Schweiz,* II, 635: "Denn des neuzeitlichen Kapitalismus Anfänge entstammten ja grossenteils der Fremde!"

86 The economic peculiarities of capitalism may have existed in antiquity in isolated cases. But we must keep in mind the important fact that a truly capitalist economy depends on the activity of a large group of people conducting themselves in a capitalist manner. As Pirenne has shown, St. Godric in the seventh century displayed characteristics similar to those of modern capitalists. The same was true of the Mairano family in the eleventh century, and more in the twelfth and thirteenth. This by no means indicates, however, that these ages were capitalistic. By the end of the fifteenth, however, the current was strong, and at least the *Bedarfsdeckungsprinzip* was being replaced by the *Erwerbsprinzip.* Cf. Lipson, *Economic History,* I, 510, 468-474. This early capitalism is quite different from Weber's definition; he defined it as the system involving unlimited drive for profit, characterized by the rational organization of free labor with industrial processes attuned to a regular market. Capitalistic adventurers would not be included, then, in this system.

A classification of trades made about 1550 by an Englishman betrays through its organization the recognition by one contemporary at least of the actual state of economic development of that time.[87] Listing trades in three groups, this observer placed in the first mercers, grocers, vintners, haberdashers, milliners, and so forth; in the second shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, masons, tilers, butchers, brewers, bakers, and so forth; and in the third clothiers, tanners, cappers, and worsted workers. In other words he had grouped the occupations according to their connection respectively with commercial capital, the old town economy, and industrial capital. The interesting point is that the majority of the refugees followed trades of the last sort. Even those who engaged in commercial pursuits were notorious among the English for their sharp (that is, individualistic, and hence favorable to capitalism) practices.[88] But the main line of influence lay in industry. The large-scale enterprises of some of them have already been mentioned—as, for example, the cloth and silk industries brought to Basel and Zürich by the Italians and the French.[89] Finally, one of the most convincing evidences of sympathy with capitalism is the liberal spirit that distinguished most of the ordinances and regulations for trades in which the refugees had any say. Those of the velvet weavers of Frankfurt may be mentioned as typical of these.[90] In the case of Hamburg the contrast between the lacemakers and the mockado weavers is instructive. The former trade, controlled by natives, was conservative and gild-spirited; the latter, founded and dominated by refugees, was liberal and free[91] The same contrast between native and stranger attitudes is discernible at Wesel, but the position of the trades is reversed: there the great conflict between native gildsmen and refugee free-tradesmen resulted in victory for the latter in the lacemaking industry and for the former in that of mockado.[92]

87 Given in Unwin, *Industrial Organization*, 84 f.

88 Tawney, *Tudor Economic Documents*, I, 308, prints a complaint of London citizens against the aliens, 1571, which lists as one of the objections the habit of alien merchants of withholding their merchandise from the markets until the time was favorable for releasing it, whereas according to the regulations they should sell it within six weeks of arrival. Controlling the markets by regulating the supply was not a practice recognized by medieval economic morality.

89 See above, 132 f.

90 See above, 119 ff.

91 Cf. Therkorn, "Untersuchungen," 79-82, 85-87.

92 Sarmenhaus, *Die Festsetzung*, 54 f.

Clearly a correlation exists in given industries between the degree of participation of refugees and the degree of modern individualistic capitalistic spirit found in them. The individualism, of course, is not necessarily capitalism; but, in rejecting the definitely non-individualistic attitude of the gild system, it leads directly to the spirit of capitalism. In the case of the colonies established apart from the native population, the economic liberalism of the refugees was not so full-blown.[93] Nevertheless, in spite of this environmental influence, the communities almost everywhere went beyond the traditional practice and custom in economic affairs. Bothe has said that the refugees brought to Frankfurt a change in the conception of the ideal economic man: while formerly he had been a "well-to-do proprietor," now he had become an "enterprising business man."[94] Little doubt can remain that the exiles in their actions approved not only of the capitalist system, but also of the capitalist spirit, with its individualism and its intensity, and above all its drive for unlimited profit.

Turning now to the basis and origin of this approval, no single explanation will suffice. The phenomenon of capitalism is much too complicated to be explained by reference to one source only. The first answer, and the most obvious, is that the refugees came from a region where capitalist activity was already well-developed. Naturally they would bring with them the advanced technique and ideas of their homeland.[95] The new textile manufacturing of the southern Netherlands, especially in the rural and semi-rural districts, with its improved methods, its unconventional innovations, its merchant entrepreneurs who built up a flourishing trade in the new products, could not but be reproduced wherever a seed was scattered by the winds of passion and oppression, be they in England, the Rhineland, the mouth of the Elbe, the Swiss Cantons, or the Provinces of Holland. This answer is correct, and must be reckoned with; but it does not explain satisfactorily why the refugee movement was so important, nor does it explain why capitalism developed in the Low Countries. Another factor of the environment—deal-

93 See above, Chap. vi.

94 Bothe, *Entwicklung der direkten Besteuerung*, 225: "Während bisher die 'Wirtschaft eines wohlhabenden Rentners' als Ideal gegolten hatte, trat jetzt an ihre Stelle die des unternehmungslustigen Geschäftsmanns."

95 See Pirenne.

ing this time not with the place of origin but rather with the place of settlement—was the minority status of most of the exile communities. Frankfurt and Wesel were typical, Frankenthal and Hanau were not.[96] In England their minority status was even more clearly established, because of the oversight and regulation by the royal government, and because of the greater language difficulty. The same would hold true for Switzerland, except in Geneva, where the roles of majority and minority were almost reversed. That this factor had its influence on economic attitudes is demonstrated by the tendency of the refugees, in the few instances where they formed a local majority and dominated the government, to retain the traditional gild system, even though in a mild and diluted form. Minorities—at least homogeneous minorities — are always revolutionary as over against the conservatism of majorities. And to this rule the refugees, exceedingly homogeneous, were no exception.

So far the discussion has explained only what made possible the spread of capitalism and the capitalist spirit by the refugees. Little light has been shed on the impetus, the energy that sent the refugees out as apostles not only of the Reformed Church but also of the reformed economy. At this point *zeal* is encountered: zealous folk always get things done. With proud disdain they spurn all enticements of pleasure and the world, intent on the one goal that has been set them. Heroic assurance and indefatigable energy are their armor, and a faith that shall not be put aside is their sword. Whence comes this power? For the Calvinist the answer lay in the hidden and unsearchable recesses of the Most High God, Who in his marvelous mercy has granted to some individuals among the sinful mass of mankind the right to worship and glorify Him forever. On earth this right has become a duty for all the elect, a duty that demands not recognition, not service, but a life wholly devoted to the tremendous task of rendering praise and honor to the Lord of Creation. No part of earthly activity is unaffected, all parts are dominated by it. Intensity of devotion allows of no digression, no lapse, no relaxation. The concept of the calling is revolutionized: no longer the monastic calling of retirement from the world, no longer the Lutheran calling of static acceptance of one's own place in the world, where God can be

96 See above, Chap. vi, for the German situation.

served as well as in any other; but rather the dynamic calling of the Calvinist who, sure of his election and assured that he will not fall from grace, puts on his armor and takes up his sword in battle for the Lord. In this battle no quarter, no rest, no truce, no neutral ground is given. For the damned there is no sanctuary. Time spent in quiescence is wasteful, in pleasure, sinful.

This is the ideal Calvinist. And for the closest human approximation to that ideal one need look no farther than the refugees who gave up everything for the sake of their faith. A cruel but effective process of "natural selection" insured the purity of the faith, and few but the sturdy and the fortunate survived the test—sturdy in their religious convictions, fortunate in their escape from death. Their daily life, if not a mirror of perfection, was at least a tribute to the seriousness with which they took their religion. Sober and industrious, these were the people who got things done. When Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Southampton in 1563, he was told, upon inquiry, that the strangers there were "very godly on the Sabbath day, and busy in their work on the week day."[97] The unimposing colony of Dutchmen who took refuge at Swords in Ireland under the patronage of Sir Henry Sidney seems to have been notable for little else but the industry of its members. Admitted to the place in order that the country might be "more plentifully peopled, and especially stored with mechanical and handicraftsmen; . . . and likewise the rather, both to allure, and teach the natives of the soil, to be more industrious, and to learn to set themselves a-work," they were given some privileges. "For it is a thing I have long wished for and sought for, to have this country stored of men of their sort, whereof there is in all places of this Realm so great want."[98] Writing in 1582 Sir Henry exulted over the success of his enterprise:

I caused to plant and inhabit there about fourtie families of the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries, flying thence for religion's sake, in one ruinous town called Swords; and truly, sir, it would have done any man good to have seen how diligently they wrought, how they re-edified the quite spoiled ould castell of the same town, and repayred almost all the same, and how godlie and cleanly they, their wiefs, and children lived. They made diaper and tickes for beddes, and other good stuffes for man's

97 Strype, *Matthew Parker*, I, 276.

98 Quoted in Maxwell, *Irish History*, 375, year 1576.

use; and as excellent leather of deer skynnes, goat and sheep fells, as is made in Southwarke.[99]

Besides charging the Huguenot goldsmiths with introducing new machinery and keeping trade secrets, the London goldsmiths complained that the refugees were frugal.[100] At Canterbury, on the other side of the question, one Mathurin Frasier, an exile, was reprimanded by the Consistory of the strangers' church "for so neglecting his business that he was unable to satisfy his creditors," and Noé Gravé and Simon Beharel were banished for fraudulent bankruptcy.[101] Even girls were taught "how to manage a household in the fear of the Lord."[102] Finally, as an example in the virtue of self-denial, the Consistory of the refugee church in that town in 1584 passed an ordinance to "bind themselves to a penalty if found resorting to a tavern." Perhaps aware that they might come later to regret their rash action, however, they left a broad highway of escape by adding "except with persons from a distance, or for matters of importance, or in the villages when taking a walk."[103]

These were the economic virtues that came to be associated with people imbued with the spirit of capitalism. They sprang from the spirit of Calvinism. Thrifty, honest, industrious, sober, and pious, the refugees, wherever they went, wherever they took root, brought with them that peculiar combination of contempt for worldly aims, desires, and pleasures together with an amazing facility for securing the means of attaining them. They lived a life in contrast even to that of their fellow-Calvinists among the native population, if these were tolerated. For the same difference in economic outlook that separated the refugees from Lutherans and Catholics appeared here also, although to a much smaller degree. The explanation of this probably lies in the environmental factors of minority status, but also in the fact that on only one side had the chaff been separated thoroughly from the wheat. There was no chaff among the exiles. One may apply to almost every refugee community in all of the great crescent in which they settled across the face of Europe the estimation of that of Frank-

99 Quoted *ibid.*, 376: "Summary relation of all his services in Ireland"; Smiles, *The Huguenots*, 125.
100 Evans, "Huguenot Goldsmiths in England and Ireland," 502.
101 Quoted from the *Actes du Consistoire* by Cross, 57.
102 *Ibid.*, 53.
103 *Ibid.*, 56 f.

enthal, where the sequestered worship in what had formerly been an Augustinian monastery was now replaced by a different kind of religion, one that could flourish in the midst of the world's confusion:

That, however, which gave to the whole situation the most solid foundation was the strict order and discipline that civil as well as religious life stipulated for the inhabitants as a necessary result of the teachings of the reformer Calvin. For that central doctrine of the Reformed Church, the sovereignty of God's grace, is not a gloomy dogma, as its opponents both of old and today always reproach it, either from ignorance or from spite; but rather a teaching that has always given to its adherents courage and strength, comfort and happiness. Of this our Frankenthal colonists are an example. Their disciplined observance of the Sabbath, their fear of God, their rejection of all drinking at family feasts and other occasions, their civil and religious spirit of fellowship raised Frankenthal to such a town and by the beginning of the seventeenth century given to it such a reputation, that the heirs of the famous Heidelberg theologian Hieronymus Zanchius could write, in a dedicatory letter to the Council, people and ministers of Frankenthal: "That which before your arrival was only a monastery dedicated to the stuffing of fat monks is now a town of around 1200 inhabitants, with beautiful buildings of all kinds, mechanical arts, all sorts of wares and so forth." And our Walloons were filled with thankful happiness toward the Lord, who blessed the work of their hands richly, whenever they sang in His temple, after Clement Marot: "La terre au Seigneur appartient. . . ."[104]

3. The Seed the Lord Soweth

The theme of this book has been the economic life and influence of the Protestant refugees. That the features of that life were not uninteresting and the forces of that influence not insignificant is manifest. Care must be taken, however, to emphasize the fact that this represents but one aspect of a movement the currents of which were felt in almost every important field of human activity during the sixteenth century. It is not within the scope of this study to portray these various interactions; but recognition should be made of the fact that they exist. In the field of political history some of the refugee groups assumed an importance of major proportions, not only for practical politics but also for political theory.[105] Similar influences may be discerned in the field of sociology and social ethics. One

104 Cuno, "Frankenthal," DHV*Gbl.*, III3, 15.

105 Cf. Eberhard Gothein, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Schwarzwaldes und der angrenzenden Landschaften* (Strassburg, 1892—), 676, in which the half-democratic, half-theocratic theory of the exiles is said to have had great influence.

outstanding example is the extensive system of poor relief carried on by the strangers' churches.[106] The zeal with which the Dutch and Walloons cared for their poor members must have amazed the natives and given them reason to think of their own.[107] It may not have been entirely coincidental that the English Poor Law of 1601 was established after the refugees had been in that country just a half century. The example of *organization* for poor relief later helped give rise to the Friendly Societies and finally the trade unions.[108]

When all these, however, the economic, the political, the social, and all that are allied with them have been considered, perhaps the most momentous and most memorable contribution has still to be accounted for. Folk whose religion meant enough to them that they were willing to go into exile to save it could not but impress their hosts, wherever they settled. People of the sixteenth century were intensely interested in religion, connected everything they did with it, and spent much of their time either thinking, talking, or fighting about it. As Janssen has written,

> De groote worstelstrijd der zestiende eeuw was in zijn' beginselen niet van staatkundigen aard. Naderhand moge zich de staatkunde in den strijd gemengd hebben, hij was eerst en bovenal om den wille der godsdienst: 't was voor gewetensvrijheid, dat onze vaderen hun goed hebben prijs gegeven en hun bloed gestort.[109]

Since ecclesiastical affairs were better regulated in England than on the Continent, the most violent religious and doctrinal strife broke out in the latter region. There reigned supreme the masters of disputation, men like the Lutheran Westphal in Hamburg, who, apparently with the heartlessness born of religious zeal, had driven away the little body of Dutch exiles, with no regard for the sufferings they had already undergone from the bite of winter and the cruelty of men. Frankfurt, Hamburg, Wesel, Zürich, among others, contained ecclesiastical leaders whose antagonism would not rest until the unwanted "heretics" were expelled.

106 See above on poor relief, references in Index.

107 Cf. Moens, "Relief of the Poor Members of the French Churches in England," HSL*Proc.*, V (1894-96), 338.

108 Cunningham, *Alien Immigration*, 186 ff.

109 Janssen, "De hervormde Vlugtelingen van Yperen in Engeland," 274.

This was only one side of the affair, however, the unpleasant side. On the other hand the religious contributions the exiles had brought, gifts that were accepted consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, played no little part in the spread of the Protestant faith. In England they were welcomed by the ecclesiastical advisers of Edward VI, but held at arm's length by the government of Elizabeth. The refugees were warned by the Privy Council that they should have nothing to do with the Puritans, to which admonition the foreigners gave formal assent.[110] This did not prevent the extensive operation of influence on the Puritan movement. Cartwright, in the *Admonition* addressed to Parliament shortly after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, asked for the establishment of a discipline more in accord with the Word of God and with the Reformed churches. The presence of the refugee churches was a justification for and an encouragement to the Puritans of England. This influence should not be exaggerated, but the judgment expressed in the *Cambridge Modern History* that the connection was one of "comparative insignificance"[111] is not correct. The veneration in which the early refugee theologians, like John à Lasco, Bucer, Martyr, Ochino, Alexander, and others were held by the natives, both in and out of the ecclesiastical profession, was no simulation. The similarities of language and thought in the writings of John à Lasco and in the letters patent granted to the London community were not merely accidental. The fears held by the Elizabethan advisers about intimacy between refugees and Puritans were not directed against an apparition. The ideal of a "model church" fixed right in England for all to see was no vain and inconsequential figment of the imagination. On the contrary, well might the proponents of prelacy, not to mention those of popery, look to their defenses. The precursor of the English Congregational Church has been located in the Marian exile community at Aarau.[112] But with equal justification can that precursor be found in some of the refugee churches of England, homogeneous in themselves, yet more or less independent of

110 Strype, *Annals*, II1, 419, II2, 517-521 (Appendices XXIX, XXX). This was in 1573. The letter is a fine statement of the position of the English Church and government on the religious aspects of the toleration of refugees.

111 *Cambridge Modern History*, II, 478.

112 So, Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, 53.

each other and of the English Church.[113] Enjoying an extraordinary degree of toleration, not only in England, but on the Continent as well, the exiles were in an extremely favorable position for the propagation of their faith and the publication of their way of life. And the religious freedom of the non-Anglican strangers in England did not make the non-Anglican Englishmen any more content with their own circumscribed place in ecclesiastical life. Above all, the religion professed by the strangers was not quietistic, but its very opposite. Although they had to make compromises in lands where the people followed a faith different from theirs, the intense compelling force that was their genius drove them to proclaim the Word of God wherever hearts could give tongue and ears could hear. Like the parable of the seed scattered over the ground, according to which some fell by the wayside, some on the rocks, some in the thorns, but some also on good ground, where it took root and grew and flourished, so the story of the refugee churches: where they found good ground, there they grew, put out great branches, and brought forth fruit a hundredfold.

113 Said of Glastonbury by Cowell, "The Sixteenth Century French-Speaking and English-Speaking Refugee Churches at Frankfort," HSL*Proc.*, XIV (1929-33), 90. Certainly the Presbyterian church government was affected.

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